

A commentary with introduction on the Florida of Apuleius.

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A COMMENTARY WITH INTRODUCTION ON THE FLORIDA OF APULEIUS

A Thesis presented for the Ph.D. Degree
of the University of London
by

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ABSTRACT

The most recent, and in many ways the best, text of the Florida of Apuleius is that of P. Vallette in the Budé series (Paris, 1924). I have, however, used the Teubner text by R. Helm (Leipzig, 1910, reprinted with addenda 1955 and 1959) as the basis for this Commentary, mainly because of the usefulness of Helm's critical apparatus, which is considerably fuller than Vallette's. I have discussed variant readings where the sense appears to be affected, but I have made no independent study of the MSS. This Commentary makes no claim to be a critical edition.

I have been more concerned with interpretation and elucidation than with matters of style, though in an author like Apuleius the two aspects cannot always be separated. A Commentary is not, however, the most convenient medium for a stylistic study. I have commented mainly on subject matter, on the language (including points of grammar), and on anything of general or special interest that appeared to throw light on the meaning and intention of the author.

In the Introduction I have considered the question of the composition of the Florida. My conclusion is that the passages, as we now have them, are excerpts from an earlier collection made by Apuleius himself, and that the division into four books goes back to this original collection. I have also tried to show that, even in its present mutilated state, the Florida gives a unique insight into Apuleius' manner as a public speaker and his relations with his Carthaginian audience.

For convenience, I have inserted the Bibliography at the beginning of the work, so that the reader may more easily refer back to the list of older editions, which are discussed in the first section of the Introduction.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to the University of Cape Coast for granting me sabbatical leave for the four academic sessions 1968-72, during which time the main part of the work for this thesis was completed. I am grateful to Westfield College for accepting me as a postgraduate student, and especially to my supervisor, Professor D.M. Jones, and other members of the Classics Department. I wish also to express my gratitude to the Institute of Classical Studies in London for the award of a Commonwealth Study Grant.

Cape Coast.

March, 1974.

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In the following list, Sections I-III are arranged in chronological order, IV-VI in alphabetical order. In Section I(A) I have included the main early editions; for a complete list, with descriptions, see the 'recensus editionum' by J. Bosscha in Oudendorp's edition. In Section VI I have included works other than articles which are referred to more than once in the Introduction or Commentary.

I

EDITIONS OF THE FLORIDA

These editions contain the complete works of Apuleius except where otherwise stated.

A. Early Editions and Commentaries

IOANNES ANDREAS, Bishop of Aleria. Editio Princeps. Rome, 1469.

MARIANUS TUCCIUS. Editio Iuntina I. Florence, 1512.

PYRRHUS ENGLEHERMEUS. Florida only, with commentary. Paris, 1518.

FRANCISCUS AUSULANUS. Editio Aldina. Venice, 1521.

BERNARDUS PHILOMATHES PISANUS. Editio Iuntina II. Florence, 1522.

ALBANUS TORINUS. Editio Basiliensis I. Basel, 1533.

MARCUS HOPPERUS. Editio Basiliensis II. With the commentary of Philippus Beroaldus (1500) on the Metamorphoses. Basel, 1560. Later editions also include the commentary of Stewechius on the complete works. Basel, 1597 and 1620.

GODESCALCIUS STEWECHIUS. In Apuleium Quaestiones et Coniecturae. Antwerp, 1586. Included in the Basel editions of 1597 and 1620.

PETRUS COLVIUS. With commentary. Leyden, 1588.

BON. VULCANIUS BRUGENSIS. Colvius' edition with the philosophical works revised by Vulcanus. Leyden, 1594. Paris, 1601.

———. Revised by J.J. Scaliger. Leyden, 1600.

G. SCIOPIIUS. Symbola Critica in L. Apulei Philosophi Platonici Opera. Commentary only. Augsburg, 1605. Amsterdam, 1664.

IOAN. WOWERIUS. With commentary. Hamburg, 1606.

GEVERHARTUS ELMENHORSTIUS. With commentary. Frankfurt, 1621.

PET. SCRIVERIUS. Amsterdam, 1624.

IULIANUS FLORIDUS. With paraphrase and commentary. Paris, 1688.

B. Editions from Oudendorp

OUDENDORP, F. Vol. I, Metamorphoses. Leyden, 1786. Vols. II and III, the other works. Leyden, 1823.

———. Valpy Edition, with paraphrase. London, 1825.

HILDEBRAND, G. F. L. Leipzig, 1842. Editio Minor (text only), 1843.

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BUTLER, H. E. The Apologia and Florida of Apuleius of Madaura. Oxford, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION

MS AUTHORITY FOR THE FLORIDA

The most important MS witness to Apuleius' Florida is the Codex Mediceus-Laurentianus 68.2, known as F. This 11th century MS, copied from a source that dates back to the 4th century, contains also the Metamorphoses and the Apologia, as well as the Histories and Annals XI-XVI of Tacitus. It is the sole common source of all other extant MSS of these three works of Apuleius. The extensive mutilation of this MS, especially in the parts containing the Metamorphoses and the Florida, is in most places fortunately restorable with the help of the Codex Mediceus Laurentianus 29.2, known as ϕ , which was copied from F in the 12th century, at a time when the latter was in a less mutilated condition. All later MSS derive ultimately from F and any variants they contain are either corruptions or emendations. Studies of F and ϕ as well as of other later MSS of Apuleius have been made by Helm, Butler and Owen, and Vallette, and form part of the introductions to their published texts of Apuleius.

EARLY PRINTED TEXTS OF THE FLORIDA: THEIR DIVISION INTO BOOKS AND SEPARATE PASSAGES

The earliest printed editions of the Florida follow the MSS in dividing the text into four books, while the passages in each book are written continuously. Of these early texts, I have seen copies of the following, which are in the British Museum: Joannes Andreas, Bishop of Aleria (Editio Princeps, 1469); Marianus Tuccius (Editio Iuntina, 1512); Pyrrhus Anglerbermeus (1518); Franciscus Ausulanus (Editio Aldina, 1521); Bernardus Philomathes Fisanus (Editio Iuntina, 1522); Petrus Colvius (1588);

Bon. Vulcanius (1594); Marcus Hopperus (~~1587~~, 1597, and 1620).

Pyrrhus' text has comments at the left and right margins of the left and right hand pages respectively. Colvius' notes on the Florida, together with his notes on the other works, form a separate section at the end of the book. Hopperus' text has brief comments and variant readings inserted in the margins.

In the Editio Princeps, the editor seems to be aware of the break in thought between some of the passages, since at these points a slightly longer gap than usual is left between the sentences. In one of the copies which I have seen, these spaces are filled with an illuminated red sign. Such spaces or signs occur at the beginning of the passages now numbered as Fl. 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19 and 22. However, the same demarcation is made elsewhere when the editor feels that there is a transition to a new thought, so that it looks as if this is not a genuine recognition of the fact that we are dealing with fragments.

The earliest indication of division of the work into its constituent fragments seems to have been made by Gaspé Scioppius in his Symbola Critica in L. Apulei Philosophi Platonici Opera, the 1605 edition of which I have seen. This edition is apparently a reprint of an earlier edition of 1594, printed at Leyden. Scioppius' work is not a text, but a collection of notes. He comments 'aliud fragmentum' or 'hic incipit aliud fragmentum' or 'est autem hoc aliud fragmentum' at the beginning of his notes on Fl. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20 and 22 (Fl. 16 and 18 are of course not thus indicated as they begin Books III and IV). He also indicates the beginning of a fragment in the middle of Fl. 16 at 'sed nunc impraesentiarum' (p.27 13). He does not indicate that Fl. 5, 21 and 23 are separate fragments. He considers that the separation of Fl. 9 between Books I and II in the MSS and earlier

texts is wrong, although his comments are kept under the headings of the four books.

The realisation that the work is in fact a collection of separate fragments seems to have led other editors to abandon the division into books. Thus Joann. à Wowerius' text (1606) has the passages as paragraphs which have no numbering, but correspond generally to our present division, save in the following respects. (a) Fl. 5 is continuous with Fl. 4, and Fl. 8 with Fl. 7. (b) The passages which make our Fl. 22 and Fl. 23 are differently divided, with the first ending at 'communuerint' (p.43 20). (c) The so-called Prologue to the De deo Socratis is added as a separate paragraph. Wowerius' commentary follows his text at the end of the work.

Geverhartus Elmenhorstius' text (1621) is divided into three parts not marked as books. The first part ends with Fl. 15, the second with Fl. 17. Within the first two parts, the beginnings of the constituent fragments are marked with asterisks, but this is not done in the third part, so that Fl. 19, 20, 21 and 23 read as one continuous passage. Fl. 22 is joined to the beginning of Fl. 14 as one passage. Following but separate from these three parts is appended the Prologue to the De deo Socratis, as one continuous passage, under the title Florida.

Pet. Scriverius divided his text (1624) into numbered passages, taking note of and criticising as wrong the division into books at the appropriate points, save for the separation of Book IV from Book III, on which he has no comment. Thus Fl. 9 is written as one passage. Scriverius also has Fl. 21 and 23 as one passage (numbered XXI), and the Prologue to the De deo Socratis as XXII, while he has our 22 and 14 together as XIV.

Julianus Floridus (1688, text with paraphrase and commentary) notes and criticises the book divisions. The passages are indicated by number.

Fl. 9 is written as two paragraphs; Fl. 22 is transferred to form the first part of Fl. 14. Fl. 23 is accordingly numbered as 22, and the Prologue to the De deo Socratis is added as Fl. 23 from 'qui me uolulistis' to 'compotiuit', and Fl. 24 from 'iamdudum scio' to 'nec oratione defectior'.

OUDENDORP AND LATER EDITIONS

Oudendorp's edition of Apuleius is a very important work that has become a terminus a quo for modern scholars, not only because of the integrity of his text, but also because the work incorporates the complete comments of all the important Apuleian scholars before him. The first volume (~~de deo Socratis~~), containing the Metamorphoses, was published posthumously in 1786 on the initiative of David Ruhnken at Leyden. The second volume, containing the rest of Apuleius, with additional notes by Bosscha and others, and the third volume consisting of an index and further material by various scholars, were published in 1823 at Leyden. Another edition of all the material contained in these three volumes together with a Latin paraphrase of the text was published in seven volumes by A. J. Valpy in London in 1825.

Oudendorp's arrangement of the Florida retained the division into four books, although he at the same time numbered the fragments. Thus in his edition Fl. 9 as it were stands astride Books I and II, with the first half ending Book I and the second half beginning Book II. He also wrote Fl. 22 and 23 as one passage (XXII) and added the Prologue to the De deo Socratis as XXIII (down to 'compotiuit') and XXIV.

Hildebrand's edition (1842) followed Oudendorp in retaining the book divisions, except that he placed all of Fl. 9 in Book I, so that Book II begins with Fl. 10. He also separated Fl. 23 from Fl. 22, and did not include the Prologue to the De deo Socratis.

Gustavus Krueger (1865) and subsequent editors (Van der Vliet, 1900; R. Helm, 1910; P. Vallette, 1924) reverted to the practice of abandoning the book divisions in their setting out of the text. They keep Fl. 9 as one passage, although in the texts of Krueger and Van der Vliet its two parts are separated by a gap. All these editors mention the book division of the MSS in their app. crit.

Helm's Teubner text (1959 edition) has been used as the basic text for this commentary, and the references by page number and line are to this text. I have moreover found Helm's text of the Metamorphoses and Apologia of Apuleius to be very useful in the preparation of this commentary. Here too any references to page number and line are to the Teubner text.

VARIOUS THEORIES ON THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF THE FLORIDA

Apuleius's Florida is thus presented to us as a collection of 23 passages of varied subject matter and of very unequal length, some a few lines only, others several pages long. Of the various theories¹ put forward to explain their composition, none is entirely convincing. The supposition of Oudendorp that the passages are loci communes, forming a repertoire to be used for declamation as occasion demanded, is supported by the very well-rounded nature of some of the shortest, e.g. Fl. 1 and 13, which look like model pieces. But this hypothesis does not explain the longer passages, particularly those which refer to a definite locality -- invariably Carthage -- and seem to deal with particular and immediate occasions that give rise to their composition. Such are Fl. 5, a farewell speech to the proconsul Severianus, and Fl. 17, delivered before the proconsul Scipio Orfitus, on which occasion Apuleius

¹For a summary of these theories, see Schanz-Hosius III p. 117. See also Oudendorp's edition of the Florida, notes, init.

dedicated a poem in the proconsul's honour. One could add Fl. 15, which ends with a reference to the proconsul's 'predecessors' (p.23 15), and Fl. 18, a prelude to a hymn dedicated to Aesculapius at Carthage. This connection with a specific occasion conflicts also with Brantius' hypothesis that they are mere sophistic exercises, each suited to a particular day's practice in declamation. Arguing against this view, K. Mras¹ differentiates between the apparently real situations dealt with by the Florida and the fictitious political and forensic topics treated in the 'suasoriae' and 'controuersiae' of the elder Seneca, for example, and in several speeches of Lucian.

Hildebrand conjectured that the nature of the passages may be owed to a stenographer who took down part of Apuleius' speeches as he made them. Schanz objects to this on the ground that the office of a stenographer would be to take down the whole rather than parts of a speech. The passage on which Hildebrand's argument is based, Fl. 9 p.11 18 'nam quodcumque ad uos protuli, excerptum ilico et lectum est', is now usually emended, exceptum being written for excerptum. Sinko² considered that all the passages are proemia, intended for use in public speeches by Apuleius, and that they were later shortened by some Carthaginian of the time of Fulgentius. But here again, the fairly complete nature of some of the longer passages indicates that they may have gone beyond the scope of introductions.

Other hypotheses attempt to use the title of the Florida to explain their composition. So Scioppius³ and Krüger considered that the passages are a set of extracts from speeches delivered by Apuleius, and that the principle which governed their selection was their flowery diction, which is indicated in their title Florida. However, the application of

¹Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 1949 p.206-7.

²Eos, XVIII 1912 p.164-5.

³ Oudendorp, Valpy, p.2839.

the word in this meaning to a book is unparalleled, as is argued by Schanz. One may perhaps add that, even if ornate diction is in some ways more pronounced in the Florida, it need not, as a criterion of choice, have excluded any of Apuleius' extant writings. Moreover not all the passages are equally ornate, Fl. 12 being well below the standard of the others in this respect. Rohde¹ is clearly right in explaining the title as a translation of the Greek book-title 'Ανθηρά, i.e. one of the various ways of indicating a miscellaneous work, whether or not such a work consisted of extracts.² He compares the title Λεπμών which Suetonius translated to Pratum and used as the title of a work of mixed subject-matter.³ Schanz's argument⁴ that the title cannot go back to Apuleius himself, because Apuleius would not have allowed a selection to be made from his work in his own time, does not seem to be very strong in view of our ignorance of the nature and scope of the original work. It is hard to agree with Mraz (op.cit. p.205) that discussion of the title is pointless, since 'eine Sammlung von Blumenstücken ist eben eine Blütenlese' in his opinion. The original collection may well have contained more complete passages and been less flowery in style overall than the present nosegay, in which case, if the title goes back to the original work, Rohde's theory is likely to be nearer the truth.

¹Rhein. Mus. XL p.72 note 4.

²Cf. 'Ανθηράων συναγωγή, a lost work of Harpocration mentioned in the Suda s.v. 'Αρποκρατίων (3).

³Cicero may have used this title for a review of Latin poetry, see Rose, Handbook of Latin Literature p.144 and note 36; T. A. Dorey, Cicero (1965) p.111. Statius' use of the title Silvae for a collection of occasional poems should also be noted. Cf. Gellius praef. 5 nam qui uariam et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam conquisiuerant, eo titulos quoque ad eam sententiam exquisitissimos indiderunt. namque alii uicinarum incrisperunt, alii Siluarum ... partim Λεπμών ... alius Ανθών etc. Other titles are mentioned by Pliny N.h. praef. 24.

⁴Cf. also F. Vallette, Introduction pp.xxv-xxvi.

THE ORIGINAL FLORIDA

My own theory of the origin of the present Florida is as follows. Some time after 164 A.D. Apuleius himself collected together a number of his own compositions, which for various reasons were not publishable separately, and issued them in four books under the title Florida. The pieces were not suitable for separate publication either because they were in themselves incomplete and dependent on some other work (e.g. as prologue¹ or epilogue² or model passage³), or because they had been virtually replaced by a later version written specially for publication. In this category would come Fl. 16, a speech of thanks for the donation of a statue (delivered at fairly short notice, since it refers to an event which took place two days before),⁴ which looks forward to a book on the same subject, to be written in a style and manner befitting a philosopher.⁵ Some of these pieces might well have been tied to a particular occasion or audience in such a way as to affect the character of the composition and so make them unsuitable for wider publication except as part of a similar collection. In the same way, a scholar might nowadays publish a collection of addresses, none of which he considered sufficiently substantial to be published separately.

In contrast with other surviving works of Apuleius,⁶ none of the

¹E.g. Fl. 17 and 18, prologues to laudatory poems.

²E.g. the second part of Fl. 9.

³Fl. 1 and 13. Such passages might come in handy in extempore public orations. Fl. 12 on the other hand reads more like a rough draft to be elaborated later.

⁴'nudiustertius libello misso' (p.28, 23).

⁵Cf. p.27, 15 'certa est enim ratio, qua debeat philosophus ob cretetur sibi publice statuum gratias agere, a qua paululum demutabit liber ... et...'

⁶Such as the De deo Socratis and the De Platone et eius Dogmate.

longer Florida passages sets out to deal in a sustained manner with any topic, but rather they range from one topic to another, and from one anecdote to the next. Secondly, they are passages where the author reduces to a minimum any allusion to literary sources, confining himself to those writers with whom one would expect an audience which is not very widely read to be familiar. On the other hand, he conflates and elaborates more popular material, such as fables, anecdotes, various biographical, antiquarian and anthropological matter, and topics in natural history. We may contrast this roving and popular manner with the sustained argument of the De deo Socratis, with its greater crop of references to writers of antiquity -- although it is probable that the De deo Socratis was also addressed to an audience.

I would suggest, then, that having a large collection of pieces of some literary merit but which, because they had been designed for a less advanced audience, were not considered worth publishing as separate books from a philosopher's pen, Apuleius made his own selection and gave it a suitable title, indicating the miscellaneous character of the work, rather than any special virtue of style or treatment. If, on the other hand, the original collection was made by someone other than Apuleius (possibly after his death), the alternative meaning of 'choice' passages seems more probable than that of 'flowery' in style.¹

The division into books may have been purely a matter of convenience, but the present Florida shows some traces of a possibly chronological arrangement. In the later part of Fl. 9, which is included in Book II, the proconsul Severianus is addressed at the end of his year of office, A.D. 162/3. Fl. 17 in Book III was delivered before Scipio Orfitus, who was proconsul the following year 163/4. In Fl. 18, Book IV, Apuleius says

¹Cf. Helm, Introd. pp.XVIII-XIX.

that he has been speaking to the Carthaginian public for six years (p.35, 17). Assuming that these six years postdate his trial before Claudius Maximus (proconsul 158/9), Fl.18 can be dated not earlier than Fl. 17, and possibly up to a year later. Further, the subject matter of some of the passages may indicate a chronological sequence. Fl. 3 in Book I has been thought to contain a reminiscence of Apuleius' trial (in 'hoc genus crimina', p.5, 8),¹ which would perhaps be more natural if it came towards the beginning of the Carthaginian period. In the first book there are several other references to the challenging attacks of critics;² these are greatly reduced in the second book (possibly only in Fl. 11); in the third there is hardly a trace of them,³ until in the fourth they completely vanish. This seems to reflect a growing confidence on the part of the orator. Again, in Fl. 1, where Apuleius addresses some city, possibly Carthage, he speaks as a mere passing stranger; contrast Fl. 21, where the same compliment of a 'courtesy stop' is paid to a well-known local dignitary. In Fl. 9 (Book II), Apuleius is well enough established to address the proconsul on the country's behalf -- possibly⁴ the first occasion on which he did so (p.14, 2-4). In Fl. 16, which begins Book III, he mentions among various honours already paid him an important priesthood (p.29, 19). In Fl. 18 (Book IV), in which he proclaims himself an 'alumnus' of Carthage, he speaks as a man of very assured position. There may be a few other indications of chronological arrangement: in Fl. 15 he makes only a passing reference to the Bracmani or gymnosophists (p.21, 21), possibly because he had already spoken of them at length to the same audience in Fl. 6. At the beginning

¹P. Vallette, Introd. p.XXIX, note. Sinko, op.cit. p.156.

²K. Mraz, op.cit. p.215.

³In Fl. 16 he triumphs over their envy: p.28, 15 f. 'nemo ex illis tristioribus uel... uituperare'.

of Fl. 16, Apuleius mentions his convalescence at Aquae Persianae; Fl. 18 possibly contains a reminiscence of this in the dedication of a hymn to Aesculapius, and of a dialogue in which one of the speakers is Julius Perseus, probably the same who is known from an inscription to have built the baths at the health resort, which was named after him.¹

It was probably from a work put together in the manner suggested that another person later made a selection of some passages, in whole or in part as they struck his fancy, but kept faithfully the original division into books,² confining each passage chosen to the book to which it had originally belonged. For all we know, the original collection may have contained addresses intended for audiences in cities other than Carthage. The surviving passages, however, whenever they give any indication of the locale of an address, invariably refer to Carthage, and if this suggests an inference that it was a Carthaginian who made the excerpts,³ we can perhaps also surmise that Carthage provided a typical audience. It is likely, however, that the original collection contained a high proportion of Carthaginian speeches, for it appears from Fl. 16 (p.23, 19 'uolo causam uobis allegare, cur aliquam multos dies a conspectu auditorii a[ffuerim'] that such addresses became a regular affair for Apuleius in Carthage.

It may also be the case that the fancy of the selector is responsible for bringing next to each other, but situate in their respective books, passages which seem to have some affinity of subject-matter. Thus in Book I the stories of Marsyas and Antigenidas, both musicians of antiquity, are brought into proximity as Fl. 3 and 4. So also the connection of Alexander the Great with tales about the gymnosophists and the effect of his campaigns in extending knowledge of India may have brought Fl. 6

¹See note on 'Persianas aquas' at Fl. 16 p.23 21 below.

²So Schanz.

³Janko, op.cit., see p.19 note 2 above. Cf. Helm, Introd. p.XIX.

and 7 together. For the similarity of the attacks on false philosophers in Fl. 7, 8 and 9, see Mras, op.cit., p.215. In Book II, Fl. 12 on the parrot's power of speech, and Fl. 13 on various birds and the appropriate times and quality of their song, naturally come together. Fl. 14 and 15 have for unity of theme the fact that both are about philosophers (Crates and Pythagoras respectively). Book III is made up of two passages only, both public addresses delivered at Carthage. A similar public address at Carthage, Fl. 18, begins Book IV, and its different position in the original collection may have kept it in a book separate from the previous two, but at the same time sufficiently contiguous to them. Also in Book IV, Fl. 22 deals with Crates the Cynic philosopher, and presumably because it was originally in a different book from the other passage on Crates (Fl. 14), the two have remained separate in our present collection.

This subsequent rationalising tendency is perhaps illustrated by the fact that later editors, e.g. Elmenhorst and Scriverius, have, contrary to the MS tradition, brought Fl. 14 and 22 together as if they were one passage.¹ Similarly Fl. 22 and 23, both on the theme of the futility of wealth and juxtaposed in the MSS were united in Cudendorp's text by being taken as one passage until Bosscha pointed out that they do not hang together structurally.²

Thus it would appear that Fl. 9 which ends Book I and begins Book II is the most successful product of this rationalisation. It is my view that the first part of Fl. 9 is the proemium of a regular public oration, in which Apuleius compared himself to the sophist Hippias. This proemium

¹See Cudendorp's note on Fl. 14, init.

²See Cudendorp's comment on Fl. 22 init. and J. Bosscha ad loc. A similar rationalisation may have combined the passages in the so-called Prologue to the De deo Socratis.

must have originally belonged somewhere (though not necessarily at the end) in Book I. The second part is the conclusion or near the conclusion of a farewell speech to the proconsul Severianus, again dealing with the topic of Hippias. This must have been located somewhere (not necessarily at the beginning) in Book II of the original collection. The excerptor, then, observing the similarity of theme, brought the passages together at the end and beginning of Books I and II respectively, thus having them contiguous but in their original books. Then, as the comparison between Apuleius and Hippias is common to both, and the sense appears to run on, the two passages have been taken as forming a single speech. Against this, however, I would urge two considerations. First, the beginning of the second part, 'Et Hippias e numero sophistarum est', reads oddly if regarded as a continuation of the first part: 'Hippias also¹ is one of the sophists'. This implies that there has been an earlier reference to another sophist. Whoever that sophist was, he is not mentioned in the supposed first half. He is certainly not Apuleius, who invariably calls himself 'philosophus', never 'sophista'. It would seem, therefore, that either something is lost immediately before 'Et Hippias etc.', or the two passages do not, after all, form a single speech. For the repetition of a favourite theme in two separate speeches, we may compare the theme of Crates' rejection of his wealth, which occurs first in Apol. 22 and is repeated twice in the Florida, 14 and 22.

Secondly, the change of addressee, from the general audience of the first part to Severianus in the second part, would be unparalleled, if the two parts formed a single speech. In Fl. 16, 17 and 18, for example, we know at once, from the first or second sentence, that these speeches

¹h. Kretschmann, De latinitate L. Apulei Metastorensis, p.113, interprets et hunc as = etiam. Amendment has been suggested, see Helms, crit. app.

are addressed either to a general audience (16 and 18) or to an individual (17), and this fact is kept constantly in the foreground. In Fl. 16, Aemilianus Strabo is twice addressed, but briefly, and within the context of the general theme. In Fl. 17 the general audience is brought in very briefly in the last sentence. Fl. 9, however, begins in the first half with compliments to the general audience, which is addressed in the second person plural from line 19 onwards; the presumed presence of the proconsul is ignored until about halfway through the second part, when he is directly addressed. In this second part the general audience is not referred to, but Apuleius speaks to the proconsul either personally or on behalf of the province ('nobis', 'noster', p.15 10 ff.). Similarly in Fl. 15, where the proconsul is addressed at the very end of the passage, no reference is made in the earlier part to the general audience. It would seem, therefore, that the first half of Fl. 9, which is directed entirely towards the general audience, is not an appropriate beginning for a speech addressed to a distinguished individual, and that in spite of the continuity of sense, the book division does in fact represent a real break,¹ and that these are passages from two different orations.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF APULEIUS UP TO THE CARTHAGINIAN PERIOD

In the Florida of Apuleius, we have the authoritative homilies of a man of extensive learning, with numerous works to his credit, who had come to Carthage to dazzle and instruct his less erudite compatriots of

¹Mras (op. cit. p.217 ff.) has suggested, but without any real evidence, that the MS has displaced the book division, which should come after rather than before Fl. 9. He supposes that in an earlier MS version of the Florida from which our MS was copied (see Helm, Introduction p.XLI), Book I ended with 'sterilis est' (Fl. 11 fin.), but had the subscription at the bottom of a page which began with 'et Hippas'. As Mras points out, a single page of F contains Fl. 9 p.11 14 to Fl. 12 p.16 24. One would, however, need an explanation of the lack of understanding of his text by a scribe who would thus mark the end of a book in the middle of an ostensibly homogeneous passage when he had three more likely points to choose from on the same page.

all ages with the brilliance of the ripe fruits of his long experience of foreign places, and of great centres of learning. Whereas there is no suggestion that Apuleius was very old at the time of delivering these speeches, yet, as no more is known to us of the author's life subsequent to this period, they can be said to belong to the later years of his literary life as we know it, for the Florida already make reference to a vast corpus of his works.¹ They also contain references to the achievement of Apuleius' highest ambitions as a man of letters, and to his possession of the highest public honours that the city could bestow, such as an important priesthood, and the award of statues in his honour both at Carthage and, before his return to Carthage, in other cities. He possessed the friendship and esteem of leading citizens, of proconsuls and wealthy business men. Nor is there any doubt about his influence with the rest of the people, who were always ready to applaud his eloquence, and whose representative he became on occasion, when they wanted publicly to address their loyal welcome or grateful farewell to the highest governmental officials.

Thus the Florida are, in many ways, a personal document. Their study should give us greater insight not only into the art, but also into the mind and purpose of their author, his personal estimate of his own work and of his relationship with his public. They should help us to reconcile 'the Platonic philosopher of Madaura'² with Apuleius, the man of letters, and with the talented and practised speaker who was the idol of the Carthaginian populace.

¹ Fl. 9 p.13 19 ff.

² περὶ ἐρμηνείας 4, cf. Sidonius Epist. IX 13 3.

Born some time after A.D. 123¹ in the garrison town of Madaura on the Numidian and Gaetulian border of Africa Proconsularis, Apuleius was the son of a well-to-do local dignitary.² He came to Carthage as a boy for his early education, where he became acquainted with the young Aemilianus Strabo, future consul and donor of a statue in Apuleius' honour (Fl. 16). From Carthage he went for further studies to Athens,³ where his interests seem to have been mainly rhetoric and philosophy. Among his friends at Athens was a youth called Pontianus, a fellow African. Apuleius also travelled extensively: to Samos,⁴ Hieropolis in Phrygia,⁵ and Rome,⁶ where he seems to have made no acquaintance worthy of mention by name in his extant works. He was on his way to Alexandria⁷ when he was detained by illness at Oea, the modern Tripoli. Here he married Pudentilla, the rich widowed mother of his friend Pontianus, a marriage which involved him in his famous trial on the capital charge of practising magic. His defence speech in the proconsul's court at Sabratha is the oration we know as the Apologia siue de Magia Liber, delivered before Claudius Maximus (procos. 158/9).

Apuleius states in the Apologia that he first came to Oea three years before;⁸ during this period he presumably travelled to neighbouring cities, including Carthage, where he may have made the acquaintance of Lollianus Avitus, proconsul 157/8, whose friendship and interest in Apuleius feature prominently in the speech.⁹ After his presumed acquittal, he seems to

¹For a discussion of the date see P.G. Walsh, The Roman Novel, Appendix 2, p.248 f. For Apuleius' life, see Boissier, L'Afrique romaine, p.173 ff.; E. Rohde in Rhein. Mus. XL p.66 ff.

²Apol. 23 and 24 (p.28 20).

³Fl. 18; Apol. 72.

⁴Fl. 15.

⁵De Mundo 17.

⁶Fl. 17

⁷Apol. 72.

⁸Apol. 55.

⁹Apol. 94-96, J. Guey, Revue des Etudes Latines XXXIX (1951) p.308; R. Syme in Revue des Etudes Anciennes LXI (1959) p.316 ff.

have gone back to Carthage, where he stayed at least until 164. We hear no more of his wife Pudentilla, who presumably died of the illness mentioned in the Apologia, or of any other members of his household, save the 'Faustinus filius' to whom two of his philosophical works are addressed.¹ Some have conjectured that this Faustinus was a pupil,² but it seems to me that if he was not Apuleius' son by his marriage with Pudentilla, then he is more likely to have been an adopted son, rather than his 'disciple and spiritual son'. Judging from Apuleius' kindness elsewhere,³ and the generosity with which he seems to have treated his stepsons,⁴ it is likely that if he called someone his son, that person would at least be an heir, if not his natural son.

At the time of his last known sojourn at Carthage, then, Apuleius was a man of mature years who had travelled widely, studied rhetoric, the poets, geometry, and philosophy, and was apparently far better educated than most Carthaginians of his own social class. He had also taken a keen interest in religion and been initiated into many cults, which fact no doubt contributed to the grounds of his indictment for magic.⁵ Although he was a man of generous temperament, whose inheritance had been spent on his studies and in helping his friends,⁶ he did not come to Carthage a poor man. He was rich enough to perform the financial demands of his priesthood,⁷ which indicates that he may have done better than he admits out of the Oea marriage. His books must have been well known by then and his talent as a pleasing orator already established. We may surmise that the books to which he refers in the Apologia as his were read not only by those who sought in them proof of the charges brought against him, but

¹ De Platone Book II and De Mundo. It is tempting to suppose that the Apuleius Faustinus who appears on a list of landowners in Numidia, date c.220 A.D. (CIL VIII 18567) may have been a descendant of this Faustinus.

² Butler and Cwen, Apologia, Introd. p.xxv. ³ Apol. 23.

⁴ Apol. 97, etc. ⁵ Apol. 55 p.62, 20 ff., cf. Fl. 18 p.38, 18.

⁶ Apol. 23. ⁷ St. Augustine, Epist. 136, 19.

also by the public at large, some members of which (he said) might actually have copies with them in the courtroom (Apol. 36). Certainly the Carthaginian public were to become avid readers of his books.¹ From his prolific pen would no doubt flow the comic and amatory poems of which we are told in Apol. 9, so also would little trifles dashed off to his friends² and amusing things to entertain them at social gatherings.³ The Metamorphoses to which he was to owe his popularity with future generations was perhaps not yet written, or had not yet received wide circulation.⁴

Of the philosophical works attributed to him, the De deo Socratis may perhaps be dated to the later part of the Carthaginian period, from the tone of authority that makes it look like a lecture delivered by the established teacher that Apuleius was to become in Carthage, rather than a youthful work. The dedication of the De Platone II and the De Mundo to his son Faustinus indicates that the De Platone and the De Mundo were later than the Apologia, for this Faustinus, be he a natural or an adopted son, does not appear in the fairly full picture of his family that Apuleius gives in the Apologia. A much later date has been suggested on the basis of the study of style and content for these two works, as well as for the $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \epsilon\rho\mu\eta\nu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ by some scholars who doubt their authenticity.⁵

¹Fl. 18 p.35, 18; cf. Fl. 9 p.11, 18. The list of works given in Fl. 9 p.13, 18ff. includes 'poemata omnigenus apta uirgae, lyrae, socco, coturno, item satiras ac griphos, item historias uarias rerum nec non orationes laudatas disertis nec non dialogos laudatos philosophis atque haec et alia eiusdem modi tam graece quam latine'.

²Apol. 6.

³Sidonius Apollinaris, Epist. IX 13, 3: 'a Platonico Madaurensi saltim formulas mutuare conuivialium quaestionum, quoque reddaris instructor, has solve propositas, has propone solvendas hisque te studiis, et dum otiaris, exerce'. See Commentary: note on 'griphos', Fl. 9 p.13, 19.

⁴I hope to publish later a discussion of this work and the date of its composition.

⁵Schanz-Hosius III p.121 and 125; Redfors, Ächtheitskritische Untersuchung der apuleianischen Schriften De Platone und De Mundo, especially pp.7-6.

Apuleius' claim to the title of 'philosophus' is based mainly on his concern with Platonic philosophy, but he also had a keen interest in the empirical investigations of natural history in the tradition of Aristotle, an interest which he mentions several times in rebuttal of the charges brought against him at the Sabratha proceedings (Apol. 36 etc.). The brilliance of his defence speech at this trial, and the reference to the brief he had taken on behalf of his wife (Apol. 1), have led to the supposition that he was a 'causidicus' and had practised law during his residence at Rome. Helm argues against this view in the Introduction to his text of the Florida (p.XI ff.), where he discusses the reference (considered to be autobiographical) in Metam. XI 28 to the hero Lucius as 'quaesticulo forensi nutrito per patrocinia sermonis Romani'; cf. 'stipendiis forensibus' (*ibid.* 30). Helm suggests that Apuleius (or Lucius) may have earned money as a 'grammaticus' or 'rhetor', professions which were also practised in the Roman forum. What is certain is that Apuleius, a man not given to reticence about his success in other fields, does not openly refer to the bar as his profession. His training in rhetoric and his obvious acquaintance with the law would have made him a competent practising barrister. We do have, however, in his works at least one uncomplimentary opinion about the bar and bench, expressed in terms which seem quite unfitting for anyone to use about his own profession.¹

Whether or not Apuleius ever followed a pedagogical profession, it is as philosopher rather than as rhetor that he takes his stand before his Carthaginian audience, and it is from this role that he deduces his duty to instruct rather than merely entertain them.² To philosophy he

¹ Metam. X 33 uilissima capita, immo forensia pecora, immo uero togati uulturii ...

² Fl. 5 p.6 2 si philosophus, didiceris. Cf. Fl. 18, init.

refers the correct use of words as well as the correct way of life,¹ and so subordinates even his rhetorical gifts to what he clearly regards as the supreme and all-embracing discipline. In this he follows the tradition of Plato and diverges sharply from contemporary sophists who assign the same priority to rhetoric.

Apuleius makes no excuses for his talents as a popular speaker, for he sees no need to do so.² Rather he makes full use of his literary and rhetorical training to embellish information culled from many sources, thus making it not only more palatable to the public for whom he intends it, but also in many cases more simple, so much so that he lays himself open to the charge of possessing only superficial knowledge. He uses material from both Greek and Latin sources, and claims in many instances to write in both tongues, doubtless no more to display his proficiency in both than to be able to reach all speakers of the two major languages of the community. The Florida are representative of part of the Latin half of this effort of Apuleius.

APULEIUS' CARTHAGINIAN AUDIENCE

What is next of interest, therefore, is the question what kind of audience were the Carthaginians before whom these speeches were delivered. To a considerable extent Apuleius' presentation of his material was modified by his aim of holding their attention and winning their applause. The same motive was no doubt behind his flattering remarks about their learning and literary competence. In Fl. 18 (p.35, 15) he reminds them that his education, completed at Athens, was nevertheless begun in Carthage.

¹Fl. 7 p.9, 10: disciplinam regalem tam ad bene dicendum quam ad bene uiuendum repertam.

²Cf. Fl. 18 init.: Tanta multitudo ad audiendum conuenistis, ut potius gratulari Carthagini debeam, quod tam multos eruditionis amicos habet, quam excusare, quod philosophus non recusauerim dissertare.

In reality, he must have regarded the educational opportunities at Carthage as fairly limited. In Fl. 20 he remarks that, of the various 'mixing-bowls' of erudition, most people drink only as far as the third, namely rhetoric, he himself at Athens had studied numerous other subjects -- poetry, geometry, music, dialectic and philosophy. It is implied, in spite of the praise of Carthaginian learning which follows, that these subjects were in general beyond their scope.

In one discourse, the De Deo Socratis, Apuleius speaks in less complimentary terms of the wealthy who cultivate their possessions rather than their minds: 'ipsi autem horridi, inacti, incultique circumeunt' (22 p.32). A. Audollent, Carthage romaine, p.711 note 3, takes this passage as indicating that the De Deo Socratis was not a public oration, hence Apuleius' more frank pronouncement upon Carthaginian culture. There is, however, no reason to suppose that Apuleius is here castigating Carthaginian rather than any other society, and the criticism represents the genre rather than the considered opinion of the author. Compare the abuse of the 'profana philosophiae turba imperitorum' in the same work (3 p.8). With similar ferocity he returns the abuse of his rivals in Fl. 7 (p.9, 5ff.), those would-be followers of philosophy who shame her image and by their ill-speaking insult the intelligence of the audience.

Apuleius refers to the library and the theatre of Carthage (Fl. 18), and whereas all sorts of dramatic performances are mentioned as available there, his own public orations seem also to have been important in the scheme of Carthaginian intellectual activities of the time. What is of especial importance about them is, first, that they do not seem to have been regarded purely as entertainment either by Apuleius or by his audience, and secondly, that they were delivered in Latin as well as in Greek.

In this ~~period~~ they differed from the speeches of the men who during this period belonged to the movement known as the second sophistic, and whose language of expression was exclusively Greek.¹ In the Greek world, especially the Greek cities of Asia Minor, the rhetoric of the sophists was enormously popular, but even in Rome they restricted themselves to the use of Greek. The Roman audience, we are told, listened with rapt attention to Favorinus the Gaul when he declaimed in Greek, including those who did not understand the language.² Aelius Aristides declaimed a famous panegyric on Rome, at Rome, without mentioning a single Roman name.³ Philostratus refers to those who studied Latin at Rome as students of 'the other language'.⁴

The situation in Carthage seems to have been rather different from that of Rome or the Greek cities, where Latin or Greek respectively were the main languages. In Roman Africa at that time there were three main languages in general use: Latin, Greek, and Punic.⁵ Apuleius' wife Pudentilla spoke and wrote Greek, and succeeded in imparting a little to her son Pudens, although he could barely speak Latin (Apol. 98). The knowledge of Greek was later to decline in the province,⁶ a fact attested by the loss of all the Greek writings of Apuleius. In his own day there

¹ Philostratus, V.S. 481; G. W. Bowersock, Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire (1969). For the popularity of the sophists in the second century see A. Boulanger, Aelius Aristide, especially pp.50 ff.; A. Haight, Apuleius and his Influence, p.69 ff.

² Philostratus, V.S. 491, cf. 589.

³ For other speeches at Rome in Greek, cf. Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana IV, 5; Dio Chrysostom, Orat. XII 11 2.

⁴ Philostratus V.S. 589.

⁵ For the use of Punic in the province, see Fergus Millar 'Local Cultures in the Roman Empire' in J.R.S. LVIII (1968), pp.130 ff. Latin was, of course, the 'official' language, but the evidence of 'aefixiones' and other inscriptions points to a Greek speaking element in the population, and Greek may have been preferred by some as the language of culture. See A. Audollent, Carthage romaine, p.701 ff.

⁶ Cf. St. Augustine, who was taught Greek as a schoolboy, but found the learning of the language irksome and was never proficient in it (Confessions I 13-14).

seems to have been a certain amount of rivalry between the two languages, for he refers in the Prologue to the De Deo Socratis to those who wished to hear him speak in Greek and Latin respectively as two sections or 'factions' of the audience;¹ Apuleius himself claims impartiality and equal skill in the use of either language.² The use of Latin would be appropriate on public and official occasions, such as an address to a proconsul, or his own defence in court at Sabratha.³ The use of Latin for the more popular type of declamation may, however, be an indication, not only of his audience's preference for the language, but also of Apuleius' own desire to be clearly understood by the majority of his hearers.

SELECTION AND TREATMENT OF SUBJECT MATTER IN THE FLORIDA:
THEIR DIDACTIC PURPOSE.

Apuleius' works show the strong influence of Greek rhetoric, especially of the so-called Asiatic style. This style was characterised by its extremely flowery use of language, by excesses of artificially balancing phrases, of antithesis, word play, alliteration and rhyme. Apuleius' style is also marked by a tendency to archaism, a feature of which his countryman Fronto was the best known exponent. In addition, Apuleius often went beyond earlier trends in his extension of the meaning of current Latin words, his invention of others, and incorporation into his language of much that can be called vulgarism and colloquialism, thus

¹Prologus 5: 'ut neutra pars uestrum nec qui Graece nec qui Latine petebatis, dictionis huius expertes abiretis'. Cf. the dialogue mentioned in Fl. 10 p.39, 6 ff., where Apuleius combines the use of Greek and Latin. In both these instances, he begins with Greek, then transfers to Latin.

²Prolog. 5; Fl. 9, p.13, 22 'gemino uoto, pari studio, simili stilo'. One of the accusations at Sabratha was, apparently, that he was 'tam Graece quam Latine disertissimus' (Apol. 4).

³The use of Greek here and there in the speech is not, however, avoided.

compounding to a great extent what was at one time termed 'Africitas' or African Latin.¹

Within this general framework, Apuleius has the ability to suit his style to the peculiar character of each work.² Norden considers that, while the Apologia is distinguished by its almost Ciceronian ring, the philosophical works are more sober and their language goes straight to the point. The Florida and the Metamorphoses are similar in style in so far as they have entertainment as a common aim, but there are also certain differences. Casual literary allusion, metaphor and poetic colouring are rare in the Florida, but more numerous in the Metamorphoses, which has also a greater proportion of archaism, vulgarism and unusual employment of current Latin words. Both Norden and Bernhard³ explain this difference as related to their respective media, oral delivery to a public gathering and private reading. The reader of the Romance had time to stop, savour and appreciate the various nuances, the significance of which would be lost in a speech. Perhaps one could add that the restricted use of these stylistic features in the Florida was partly dictated by the desire for the same greater clarity that characterises the philosophical works.

The Florida have few quotations from literary sources, and not many references to literary topics. Quotations of known provenance are confined to Virgil,⁴ Plautus (whose plays may have been staged in the Carthaginian

¹For a recent discussion of Apuleius' style see B. C. Dietrich, 'The Golden Art of Apuleius', Greece and Rome, 1966, p.193.

²E. Norden, Die Antike Kunstprosa II p. 603: 'Er schreibt ... in jeder Schrift in einem andern Stil'.

³M. Bernhard, Der Stil des Apuleius von Madaura, p.5.

⁴For the popularity of Virgil with the Carthaginians, a popularity which may be attributable to the Dido episode in the Aeneid and its association with Carthage, see A. Audollent, Carthage romaine, p. 659, note 3. Audollent refers also to St. Augustine's penchant for Virgilian allusion.

theatre),¹ Lucilius (one quotation),² Homer (two allusions),³ Accius (one quotation which, however, starts an incomplete fragment that may well have had more to say about this poet),⁴ and an unknown tragic poet.⁵ In general, Apuleius avoids vague literary 'name dropping' in the Florida, but whenever a literary subject is introduced, he takes the trouble to treat it with remarkable fullness. For instance in Fl. 16 (p.24, 7 f.), when about to relate an anecdote about the death of Philemon, he inserts a lengthy appreciation of his 'talent' as a comic poet. Assuming that the audience was indeed familiar with Philemon's work ('de ingenio eius qui satis nostis', line 4), we may conclude that they would not have found Apuleius' 'few words' on this subject either tedious or superfluous.

In contrast to the Florida the De deo Socratis, although as befits a philosophical work its style is less exuberant, contains a great abundance of literary allusions and quotations of all sorts from Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Ennius, Accius, Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Cicero, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, and of course Virgil. It is probable, therefore, that the De deo Socratis was presented to a more sophisticated gathering than the crowd of the Carthaginian theatre, possibly in the temple of Aesculapius. In Fl. 18 p.39, 8 Apuleius mentions this temple as the scene of a discourse delivered by himself about which a question is asked the next day at the outset of a dialogue he has composed. Though this particular discourse may be fictitious, the reference shows that the temple could be used to accommodate a select audience.

Other than literary subject matter in the Florida seems to have been similarly selected with a less erudite audience in view. Much of it is

¹Fl. 13 p.34, 13-19.

²Fl. 21 p.42, 8 f.

³Fl. 2 p.2, 11 f.

⁴Fl. 10 p.15, 9 f.

⁵Fl. 18 p.34, 14 f.

popular 'scientific' material, e.g. the eagle of Fl. 2, the Indians of Fl. 6, the parrot of Fl. 12. Equally popular are the biographical anecdotes or comments on various 'famous personages', the treatment of which presupposes some ignorance of them on the part of the audience.

Before considering the function of Apuleius' rhetoric in the Florida, one should perhaps remember that the present passages may only partially reflect the prevailing style of the original collection, and that statistical comparisons with other works of Apuleius may therefore be misleading. It might be possible to excerpt passages from the Metamorphoses (e.g. II 8, IX 14, X 33 and much of XI) to make a collection not very different from the present Florida in point of rhetorical style. Nevertheless, assuming that the passages we have are fairly representative of Apuleius' manner when addressing a general audience, it seems possible to make a few observations on his method of presenting his material and its purpose.

Apart from the obvious purpose of embellishment, many rhetorical features of Apuleius' style in the Florida seem also to be aimed at clarification. Since an audience cannot, like a reader, stop to examine a word to gain exact understanding, his redundancies and repetitions are often in lieu of the time a reader would take to consider the significance of some expression. Behind the extravagances of Apuleius' style in the Florida there lies, in my opinion, this didactic motive, to increase the understanding of the audience, to enrich and diversify his meaning, and so to impress it more fully and distinctly upon their minds.

When Apuleius treats a historical or biographical topic, of which he considers his audience to have slight knowledge, he often inserts an explanatory passage, which may be of some length, before resuming the thread of the argument. Such digression may interrupt not only the

sequence of the narrative but also the strict grammar,¹ e.g. Fl. 7 p.8 3 Alexandro illi, longe omnium excellentissimo regi, cui ... eius igitur Alexandri ... etc. Fl. 18 p.36 3 Protagora, qui sophista fuit longe multiscius ... eum Protagoran aiunt ... etc. Other examples resume without anacolouthon, e.g. Fl. 17 p.32 23 (Orpheus and Arion), Fl. 18 p.37 10 (Thales), Fl. 22 p.42 20 (Crates). Examples occur elsewhere in Apuleius (e.g. Metam. I 2 Thessaliam ... eam Thessaliam etc., Apol. 4 Pythagoram ... eum sui saeculi ... item Zenonem ... eum quoque Zenonem etc.), but less frequently and the explanatory insertions are much briefer. In the Florida they are often very extended, and seem to be to a large extent aimed at informing and instructing the audience.

At other times rhetorical amplification may stem from or lead up to a single word or phrase which the author wishes to render more striking or meaningful. For instance in Fl. 2 p.2 13 ff. the description of the eagle rising above the weather-belt into the higher reaches of heaven leads up to the striking antithetical phrase 'in ipso, ut ita dixerim, solo aetheris et fastigio hiemis'. In 3 p.4 4 the descriptive use of 'Phryx' to indicate an uncouth person is expanded: 'Phryx cetera et barbarus, uultu ferino, trux, hispidus, inlutibarbatus, spinis et pilis obsitus ... '. In 4 p.5 14 'modulator' seems to have suggested to Apuleius the formation of a new word 'modifier', in turn to be semantically clarified by allusion to the modes of music: 'seu tu uelles Aeolion simplex siue Iastium uarium seu Lydium querulum seu Phrygium religiosum seu Dorium

¹Inverse attraction, though commonly associated with this resumptive device, is not an essential feature of it. P. Thomas is therefore almost certainly wrong in tracing its origin to the comic poets (Bulletin de l'academie royale de Belgique, 1902, no.5, p.288; Mnemosyne XLIX (1921) p.51 f. R. Helm in Philologus Supplementband IX p.516 f. considers it to be a feature of common speech (p.520), and concludes 'omnis haec ratio dicendi ... suapte natura propria est orationum' (p.519). If this is so, Apuleius has extended a simple device of spoken discourse into an elaborate tool of didactic exposition.

bellicosum', which gives in effect a little didactic piece on Greek music. In Fl. 9, p.10, 5 'inuisoribus', a new word, is followed by an elucidatory digression for the next five lines. In Fl. 9, p.13, 18 the word 'reficere' derives from its context the unusual meaning 'fashion repeatedly', the tool used being a pen ('chartario calamo'). In Fl. 13 p.17, 27 f. the adjective 'temporarium', applied to the song of birds, is illustrated by a long double-list of the various times of day or night suited to the various bird-songs, and there follows a further list defining the particular musical quality of each song. To these may be compared the triple-lists in Fl. 17 p.32, introduced by the key word 'plurifariam' (line 6), of musical instruments and their respective sounds, then of animals and their cries, each defined by distinctive noun and adjective. The ingenuity of these lists is remarkable, yet they recall perhaps some fairly elementary didactic exercise. It is not hard to imagine that if Apuleius was indeed a rhetor or grammaticus at Rome, he possessed such lists of terms among the tools of his trade.¹

When he wished, Apuleius could be concise and accurate, especially in the presentation of technical subjects whether in Greek or Latin, over which, he tells us, he took great pains.² As an illustration of this, I refer to Oudendorp's comment on Apuleius' rendering of Plato, Timaeus 82 a ff., on disease and its causes, in Apologia 49: 'magna autem elegantia

¹ There is a fragment of Suetonius on the sounds made by various animals: p.247 Reifferscheid, who mentions other similar glossaries in Latin and Greek. Suetonius, another African, may have followed the profession of grammaticus at Rome.

² Apol. 36, p.42, 6 'praesertim cum ordinatius et conibilibus eadem Graece et Latine admittar conscribere et in omnibus aut omissa adquirere aut defecta supplere'; cf. Apol. 38, p.43, 19 f. The zoologist who classifies animals as viviparous and oviparous owes a debt to Apuleius, Apol. 38 on fishes: quibus membris et causis natura viviparos et oviparos -- ita enim Latine appello quae Graeci ζωοτόμας et ὠοτόμα -- etc.

et perspicuitate Apuleius, quae plurimis uerbis et obscuris a Platone dicta sunt, paucis exprimit.' Fl. 12 is an instance of this ability of Apuleius to be precise on a 'scientific' topic. It is on the whole remarkably free from rhetorical adornment, giving the facts about the parrot humorously but almost baldly, and reads more like a rough draft than a finished oration. Even here, however, Apuleius does not seek brevity for its own sake, but expands his description in the interests of clearness and accuracy. Compare the following descriptions, taken from Pliny, Solinus, and Apuleius, of the crimson ring that encircles a parrot's neck. Pliny, N.H. X 117 auem uiridem toto corpore, torque tantum miniato in ceruice distinctam. Solinus (Mommsen p.191) 52 43 sola India mittit auem psittacum colore uiridem torque puniceo. Apuleius Fl. 12 color psittaco uiridis et intimis plumulis et extimis palmulis, nisi quod sola ceruice distinguitur. enimuero ceruicula eius circulo mineo uelut aurea torqui pari fulgoris¹ circumactu cingitur et coronatur. It appears likely that Apuleius' description would appeal to a 'lay' audience not only as less dull than the other two but also as essentially more accurate, as anyone who is familiar with the plumage of brightly coloured birds will agree if he reflects upon the shimmering and scintillating tints of such a 'neckband'.

A word must be said on Apuleius' treatment of animal subjects. In addition to the longer descriptive passages, e.g. the flight of the eagle in Fl. 2, the parrot in Fl. 12, the fight between elephants and serpents in Fl. 6, with the elements of the marvellous, the sublime or the humorous which they contain, there are the illustrative lists of

¹ aureae torous rari fulgoris, Rhode; I suggest uarii for pari, see Commentary ad loc.

animals and birds in which their various cries and songs are differentiated and characterised. Thus the trumpeting of elephants is 'sad', the neighing of horses 'joyful' (Fl. 17, p.32, 12). The song of blackbirds belongs to childhood, that of nightingales to youth, that of swans to old age (ib. p.33, 6). This perceptive sympathy with the animal kingdom is what we should expect of the author of the Metamorphoses, and seems in antiquity to be second only to that of Vergil.

Apuleius seems to have succeeded in achieving a high degree of rapport with his audience. In Fl. 9, p.10, 19 f. he refers to the exacting standards set by the favourable opinion of his hearers, and the close attention paid to his every word (p.11, 1 f.). The involvement of the audience is shown when on occasion he pretends to be following their wishes (e.g. Fl. 16, p.24, 4, Fl. 18, p.36, 2; De deo Socratis, Prol. 5, p.5, 1), or even claims, in an extempore speech, that the audience by its reactions will play a part in shaping the course of the speech itself: Prol. 1, p.2, 4 f. haec vero, quae inpraesentiarum et quasi vobiscum parienda sunt, talia erunt, qualia vos illa favendo feceritis. Cf. Fl. 16, p.27, 18 vobiscum parare (sc. librum). Such remarks are not necessarily confined to extempore speaking, but are part of the technique of the trained lecturer.¹

Following the fashion set by the practitioners of the Second Sophistic, Apuleius shows himself to have been a consummate performer and master of every device of rhetorical style. But more than this, he insisted on being understood as clearly as possible, not only in Greek, but also in Latin. Unlike the birds who sing best in remote places, his rhetoric was

¹Cf. De deo Socratis 11 p.19, 12 'uerbum Graecum, si paulisper operiamini, Latine enuntiabo', which Helm (Philologus Supplementband 1A) takes as evidence that the De deo Socratis was an extempore speech. For the sophistic extempore oration, see Philostratus V.S. 572, 500 (et passim).

essentially a medium of communication with the large audiences which he was able in this way not only to enchant but also to instruct. 'Et merulae in remotis tesquis cantilenam pueritiae fringultiunt, luscinae in solitudine Africana canticum adolescentiae garriunt, olores apud auios fluuios carmen senectae meditantur. enimvero qui pueris et adolescentibus et senibus utile carmen prompturus est, in mediis milibus hominum canat, ita ut hoc meum carmen ... est, serum quidem fortasse, sed serium, nec minus gratum quam utile Carthaginiensium pueris et iuuenibus et senibus' (Fl. 17 p.33 6 ff.). Without a doubt Apuleius thought his song to be worth hearing by all, and very loudly and clearly did he sing it.

FLORIDA 1

This piece could be a model passage composed for use in any town through or near which the author happens to be passing. Compare Fl. 21, which also speaks of such a courtesy stop. If, on the other hand, a particular 'ciuitas' is referred to, it seems to me that Carthage (so Oudenjorp) or some other smaller African township is more likely than Rome (B. E. Perry, The Ancient Romances p.236). For the style and form of the passage, see Bernhard, Der Stil des Apuleius von Madaura p.363. Its general tone is in keeping with the religious interests of Apuleius.

1 p.1 1 religiosis uiantium. The partitive genitive with an adjective is an imitation of Greek usage (e.g. Demosth. XVIII 104 τοὺς ἀνδρῶν τῶν πολιτῶν), cf. Pliny N.H. XI 265 canum degeneres; VIII 193 lanarum nigrae; Tac. Ann. III 39 leues cohortium. uiantium: 'uiare' (a coinage possibly referred to by Quintilian in a corrupt passage VIII 6 33) is used by Apuleius only as a present participle; cf. Metam. X 5 uianti marito. moris est. Becichemus wrote religiosi to agree with moris, presumably as genitive of description with uiantium; this change seems unnecessary. For the phrase 'moris est' with the dative, cf. Tac. Agric. 39 ut Domitiano moris est (et saepe).

1 p.1 1 aliqui lucus aut aliqui locus sanctus in uia. Cf. Apul. Apol. 56 nullus locus aut lucus consecratus; Cicero Prov. Cons. 7 quod fanum in Achaia, qui locus aut lucus in Graecia tota tam sanctus fuit etc. For sacred precincts by the wayside where travellers might make offerings, cf. Homer Od. XVII 210 f. βαμβός δ' ἐφυπεοῦσε τέτυκτο / νυμῶν, ὅθι πάντες ἐπιρρέζεσκον ὁδοῖται.

1 p.1 2 uotum postulare. uotum is used here in the sense of a wish or a

prayer, hence Leo's interpretation 'id quod quis cupit'. Its use as object to a verb such as 'postulare' is highly unusual. Helm tentatively suggests uotum praestare. Fulvius substituted ueniam postulare, uotum apponere, but so drastic a change in the text hardly seems justified.

1 p.1 3 pomum adponere. Lipsius suggested donum. Oudendorp (ad loc.) objects to pomum on the ground that what is offered should correspond to oratio below and therefore be something spoken, and so reads uotum with Fulvius. However, pomum can be taken as a gift which is analogous in a general way to the compliment of an 'oratio'. As the religious wayfarer offers fruit to the deity as a token of reverence, so the philosopher on his travels offers an oration to the citizens in recognition of the holy status of the town. For the offering of fruit, cf. Carmina Priapea 53 (F. Buecheler, Petronii Saturae p.148):

tu quoque, diue minor, maiorum exempla secutus,
quamuis pauca damus, consule poma boni.

Cf. Tibullus I 1 13-14 and Propertius IV 2 17 (which is, however, less apposite).

1 p.1 3 paulisper adsidere. Sitting seems originally to have been a posture of supplication (e.g. sitting at a hearth, altar etc.), rather than of prayer in general, for which standing may have been a more standard posture. Thus in Virgil Aen. III 527, Anchises prays 'stans celsa in puppi'. The practice of sitting would normally be associated with some cult object, the sacred hearth or statue; cf. Ovid Fasti VI 305 ff., Ex Ponto I 1 52, Tibullus I 3 30. A sitting posture during prayer and sacrifice is enjoined in the Umbrian ritual of the Tabulae Iguvinae (e.g. 1 a 25, 33-34, VI b 17, 22, 40-41). For the practice of sitting after an act of religious devotion cf. Propertius II 28 45-6:

ante tuosque pedes illa ipsa operata sedebit

narrabitque sedens longa pericula sua.

This practice seems to arise from the idea of sitting as a leisurely posture, indicating that the devotee is not in a hurry. Plutarch, Quaest. Rom. 25 fin., refers to waiting and sitting in the temples after prayer as a contemporary custom, and in Numa XIV 7-8 he says that sitting after worship was enjoined by Numa, and that this accords with Numa's view that religious duties should be performed not under pressure of other matters, but when we are at leisure: ἐπιζοντας ἡμᾶς τοῦ νομοθέτου μὴ ποιῆσθαι τὰς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐντεύξεις ἐν ἐσχολίᾳ καὶ παρέργως, οἷον σπεύδοντας, ἀλλ' ὅταν χρόνον ἔχωμεν καὶ σχολὴν ἔγωμεν. It is in this sense of the avoidance of haste as a mark of respect that Apuleius says 'paulisper adsidere' here, as can be seen from what follows ('quamquam oppido festinem ... inhibenda properatio est'). Cf. 'religiosam moram' below, and Fl. 21 init. 'honestas moras' as a mark of politeness when one meets a well respected and prominent citizen. Levy in Philologus LXXIV p.378 discusses from the Talmud the Hebrew practice of tarrying after prayer, sometimes also before prayer as a preparatory act. The Talmud also enjoins a leisurely attitude when withdrawing from the Synagogue. To Tertullian, on the other hand (De Oratione XVI 5), sitting was a sign of fatigue, and showed that the devotee was tired of the prayer.

1 p.1 4 sanctissimam istam ciuitatem. Cf. metam. XI 26 sacrosanctam istam ciuitatem accedo (of Rome). There is nothing to show whether Rome or Carthage or any other particular township is being addressed here.

1 p.1 4 quamquam oppido festinem. Cf. Fl. 21, p.42, 12 quamquam oppido festinent. For quamquam and the subjunctive, see S. A. Handford, The Latin Subjunctive, p.172. oppido. This adverb, found in Plautus,

Terence, Livy and Cicero (not the speeches), is mentioned by Quintilian, VIII 3 25, as a word obsolete in his time, and synonymous with the archaic 'antigerio'. Its use seems to have been revived by the archaizers, for it appears in Gellius (XVIII 12 oppido quam libens), and became a rather favourite word with Apuleius, who uses it in a variety of ways:

- (a) in a pun at Apol. 62 lignum a me toto oppido et quidem oppido quaesitum; cf. Festus' derivation (Lewis & Short under 'oppido').
- (b) In association with 'plane' (De Platone II 19 qui nec plane optimi nec oppido deterrimi sint), and with 'satis': Metam. II 12 multa respondit et oppido mira et satis uaria; ibid. II 21 oppido puer et satis peregrinus.
- (c) In the collocation 'oppido quam': Apol. 67 oppido quam mihi laborandum est ... De deo Socratis, Prologus 4 qui oppido quam a me desiderabant ut dicerem ex tempore.
- (d) With the word 'formido', several times the verb, once the noun, e.g. Metam. II 16 and II 25, and twice with 'festinare', as here.

1 p.1 5 praefanda uenia. A collocation as unusual as 'uotum postulare' above, and seemingly found only in Apuleius. Cf. Metam. I 1 en ecce praefamur ueniam si quid exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis locutor offendero. Compare the phrase 'honorem praefari' used by Cicero, Ad Fam. IX 22 4. This sense of 'praefari' probably derives from the sacerdotal use, where it is applied to reciting a set formula, e.g. Livy V 41 3 pontifice maximo praefante carmen. The instance from Metam. I 1 (above) shows that 'uenia' has the sense of 'indulgence' rather than 'permission'; a polite introductory appeal for the attention of the audience.

1 p.1 5 praefanda ... habenda ... inhibenda. Instances of homoeoteleuton (cf. oratio ... properatio) are so common in Apuleius that I shall remark

on them only in very exceptional cases. inhibenda properatio est: as a mark of reverence or respect; cf. Fl. 21 p.42, 13 cohabit cursum. See note under paulisper adsidere above.

1 p.1 6 neque...aut...aut...uel...uel. Apuleius has 'neque...aut... aut' at Fl. 16 p.27 4, but more usually he has 'neque...uel', cf. letam. VI 20, X 10, XI 29. Here he combines both disjunctives for the sake of variety. See Kozlöl, Der Stil des L. Apuleius p.322 f.; Becker, Studia Apuleiana p.14. obiecerit. Potential subjunctive: see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.176, 46 a, and Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.334.

1 p.1 7 ara floribus redimta. For flowers and plants on altars, cf. Terence And. 726; Ovid Trist. V 5 10; Horace Carm. I 19 13 f.; and Lucian Conc. Deor. 12 πᾶς λίθος καὶ πᾶς βωμὸς χρησμοφθεῖ, ὃς ἂν ἐλαίῳ περιχυθῇ καὶ στεφάνους ἔχη κτλ.

1 p.1 7 spelunca frondibus inumbrata. For the awe which such natural grottoes invoke in the religious, cf. Seneca Ep. 41 3. In Homer they are sacred to the nymphs (Od. XIII 103 f.), cf. Calypso's cave with its wild vine, Od. V 67-8 (imitated Virg. Ecl. V 6). Elsewhere in antiquity, we are reminded of the hollow rock of the Delphic oracle, and in modern times, the Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes. For the wild plants which were allowed to grow on these precincts, compare the sculptural representation of such a cavern at Apuleius Metam. II 4 pone tergum deae saxum insurgit in speluncae modum muscis et herbis et foliis et uirgultis et alicubi pampinis et arbusculis alibi de lapide florentibus. This passage lends support to the emendation frondibus, written by another hand over 'floribus' in φ. Apuleius is unlikely to have repeated 'floribus' after the foregoing 'ara floribus redimta'; there seems also to be some sound effect in the two words floribus and frondibus.

1 p.1 8 quercus cornibus onerata. For the offering of stag's horns, usually hung on trees, Ovid Metam. XII 266-7, Propertius II 19 16-20, cf. Virgil Ecl. VII 30. The tree is usually the pine and the deity Diana, cf. the huntsman's custom referred to in the Schol. on Aristoph. Plut. 943 of nailing to a tree some part of the animal caught, in honour of Artemis. The oak is more often pictured as hung with battle-trophies: Livy I 10 5, cf. Lucan I 136 f., Virgil Aen. X 423 etc. However, there seems insufficient reason to emend with Fulvius to 'coronis ornata' (cf. 'ramum coronatum' Apol. 56 p.64, 7), especially since 'coronata' follows. Scott's 'honorata' gives good sense and an attractive sound correspondence with 'coronata'.

1 p.1 8 fagus pelliibus coronata. See Anth. Pal. VI 57 for a lion's pelt dedicated to Pan. A mythical parallel would be the fleece of the golden ram, hung on an oak (Apoll. Rhod. IV 124, Apollod. I 9 1) or an ash (Val. Flacc. VIII 113). Both beech and oak may be selected by Apuleius merely as typical trees. In Macrobius Sat. III 20 3 they are among the lucky trees.

1 p.1 9 uel enim: 'or indeed'. Emendation has been suggested, but Helm refers to Langen, Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Plautus (Leipzig 1880) p.261 ff., who demonstrates a similar asseverative use of enim in Plautus. Cf. immo enim, Apol. 52 init., and see note on 'immo enimuero' at 2 p.2, 13 below. Apuleius has 'uel enim' twice more, at De deo Socr. 9 uel enim utrimque commixta, and Apol. 88 uel enim sub ulmo.

1 p.1 9 colliculus sepimine consecratus. Colvius (Oudendorp ad loc.) interprets this as a 'bidental', i.e. a place struck by lightning which it was the practice to fence off and regard as holy; cf. Sidonius Carm. 9 192 nec quae fulmine Tuscus expiato / saeptum numina quaerit ad bidental.

'colliculus' perhaps indicates the mound under which the fragments of the thunderbolt were buried, cf. Lucan I 606-8. The consecrated place might, however, be simply a grave (cf. Martial I 114 and 116 and 'caespes libamine umigatus' below). For the diminutive colliculus the Thes. Ling. Lat. refers to Frontinus gromaticus 43 locorum elationes et cliuia et colliculi; cf. Hyginus gromaticus 114 16. Hence Nougaret in Revue des Etudes Latines VI (1928) p.43-4 argues that 'colliculus' is a technical word outside proper literary usage, and that it is out of place here among the disyllables 'quercus', 'fagus' and 'truncus', being rather a gloss on some rare word which it eventually displaced in the text. He conjectures that the word is grumus, probably rightly. For 'grumus' and the possibility that the reference is to a grave, cf. CIL I² 1212 (Warmington, Remains of Old Latin IV p.28): hospes, resiste et hoc grumum ad laeuam aspice ubi / continentur ossa hominis boni misericordis amantis / pauperis. rogo te, uiator, monumento huic nil mali feceris. Apuleius has the diminutive of 'grumus' ('grumulus') at Metam. VI 10 in the sense of 'heap' or 'pile'. Cf. Auctor Bell. Hisp. 24 2, Vitruv. II 1 5 (where 'grumus' refers to an artificial mound) and VIII 3 2; Paul. ex Fest. (Müller) p.96. sepimine: for 'sepimentum' (used by Varro and Cicero); cf. below libamine, poetic for 'libamentum'. Like dolamine (from 'dolare'), sepimine is coined by Apuleius to balance libamine and unguine. Purser (in Hermatnena XVI p.145) refers to other Apuleian neologisms in -men: Metam. IV 15 sarcimen, VI 2 sulcamen, XI 9 coronamen; Fl. 18 p.35 10 adhortamen; De deo Socr. 23 polimen.

1 p.1 10 truncus dolamine effigiatus. For 'dolamine', see previous note. For the meaning of the late verb 'effigio', cf. Nonius 308, 38 fingere, effigiare uel formare. It is not clear whether the meaning here is simply 'shaped by carving' (i.e. hewn into shape), or 'figured with carving',

i.e. with carved work. The latter meaning accords with the example in Metam. XI 11 urnula...simulacris Aegyptiorum effigiata. Colvius (Oudendorp ad loc.) explains the carved tree trunk as a boundary post; cf. Siculus Flaccus (Blume, Lachmann and Rudorff, Gromatici Veteres (Berlin 1848) pp. 143 and 144): the carving indicated e.g. which side of the boundary belonged to whom, and whether it separated two or more plots of land. For the veneration paid to it, Colvius compares Prudentius, Peristephanon 10 381 deastrato supplicare stipiteⁱ; cf. Ovid Fasti II 641-2 Termine, siue lapis, siue es defossus in agro / stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque numen habes. The 'truncus effigiatus' might also suggest the rough figure of a god such as Priapus, cf. Horace Sat. I 8. Martial VI, 49 and 73.

1 p.1 10 cespes libamine umigatus. umigatus if authentic would be Apuleian 'umigare' is however attested in Levius Andronicus (Ribb. 2 frag. 18), and here only; / Another hand (see Helm's crit.app.) prefixed f in F, while φ has humigatus, and so Oudendorp reads fumigatus, referring to Calpurnius Bucol. II 62 saepe uaporato mihi caespite palpiat agnus, to Horace Carm. III 8 2 positusque carbo in / caespite uiuo, and to Apul. Apol. 58 parietes fumigatos (which seems, however, to mean 'blackened with smoke'). 'Soaked with libation' seems to be the sense required here.

The vulgate reading is humigatus.
 / My own suggestion is that we should read (h)umidatus. Cf. Metam. VIII 9 lacrimis emanantibus genas cohuidat (which is the reading of φ). ^{a second hand in} 'Caespes' is probably a turf altar, possibly a grave: cf. Virgil Aen. III 304 ff., Horace Carm. I 19 13 ff., Ovid Metam. XV 573 ff.

1 p.1 11 lapis unguine delibutus. Colvius again interprets with reference to boundary stones (see note on 'truncus...effigiatus' above); cf. Siculus Flaccus p.141 (op.cit.); Seneca Ihaed. 529 nullus in campo sacer / diuisit agros arbiter populis lapis. But it seems that any stone might be similarly venerated, cf. Apol. 56 negant uidisse se...unum saltem in finibus eius aut lapidem unctum aut ramum coronatum. In the context of

shrines by the wayside, I would include especially milestones and stones placed at crossroads. For the wayfarer's practice of pouring oil over such a stone, cf. Theophrastus Char. 16, and R. G. Ussher's commentary ad loc., p.142, also Frazer's commentary on Ovid's Fasti, pp.488 and 496 (for the worship of Terminus at milestones). Apuleius' passage here crystallizes for us a picture of the rather large number of holy objects which the ancients venerated out of doors, and of which stones seem to form a sizable part. In this connection it is interesting to compare the belief that the stone silex (Iovis lavis) was in origin the thunderbolt (see W. Warde Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People, p.130), with a belief in my own country. In the Ewe language (Ghana), prehistoric stone beads and axes (used in magical rites) are called So-kpe (stone of So, god of lightning) and So-fia (axe of So) respectively, from the belief that they are thunderbolts, and it seems that the dim memory of their former function as ornaments and tools has led to the popular superstition that when lightning kills a man, it is the stone axe which strikes him, but if a woman, the stone bead. Compare also from the Holy Scriptures, Genesis 28, 18-19, Jacob's anointing of a stone, which St. Augustine tried to explain at Ciu. Dei XVI 38.

1 p.1 11 parua haec quippe...transcursa. The implication perhaps is that, whereas these things are mere trifles by comparison and might be missed by all but the most scrupulous, who could fail to notice and pay due respect to your illustrious town?

1 p.1 12 paucis percontantibus. Kronenberg changes to paulisper cunctantibus, which makes reasonable sense but misses the point of the antithesis between those who go to the trouble of making inquiries (and

so worship) and those who remain in ignorance (and so pass by). Apuleius is returning to the thought of the first sentence, 'religiosis uariantium', part of whose duty would be to make sure that no object of veneration was missed. He considers those possessing such careful piety to be few and far between (paucis). The addition of plerisque (van der Vliet) or plurimis (Rohde and Brakman, see Mnemosyne XXXVI, 1908, p.29 ff.) before 'tamen' as an antithesis to 'paucis' is not strictly necessary, since the participle ignorantibus can be used in a classifying sense, 'the unheeding' (cf. Apol. 12 'profanis', referred to by Helm in his app. crit.), not only as a predicate, 'unawares'.

1 p.1 12 quanquam ... adorata ... transcursa. For quanquam with the participle see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.385. transcursa. The perfect passive participle of this verb seems not to have been used before Apuleius, cf. Metam. XI 26 transcurso ... circulo; IX 1 transcursa proxima porticu, Ammianus Marcellinus XXI 7 7 Euphrate nauali ponte transcurso. For the transitive use of intransitive verbs when prefixed with a preposition, see Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.205, and for trans- prefixed to such verbs, p.269. In the present instance transcursa seems to mean 'passed by' or 'hastened past', rather than 'across' or 'through' as in the other instances quoted above.

FLORIDA 2

Fl. 2 opens with an anecdote about Socrates and a beautiful but silent boy, which leads to the following transition of thought: 'For assessing men, the testimony of the ears (by which *minu* judges *mind*) is superior to the evidence of the eyes; for if the eyes were more important than the mind, the creature possessing the keenest vision, namely the eagle, would be the wisest of creation.' This fragment, with its emphasis on the importance of speech and hearing as instruments of the mind, looks like part of a defence of the role of the public orator, and by implication of the educational value of Apuleius' speeches. For the general theme cf. Fl. 17 p.32 16 pro quibus (sc. uocibus animalium) homini uox diuinitus data angustior quidem, sed maiorem habet utilitatem mentibus quam auribus delectationem.

The anecdote itself has no exact parallel in Plato or Xenophon, but is possibly based on Plato Charmides 154 d - e, where Socrates inquires whether the boy's physical beauty is matched by beauty of soul: this can be revealed only by conversation. Cf. Theaetetus 185 e, where the young Theaetetus, who resembles Socrates in looks, is said to be not ugly but beautiful because he speaks well (e 4): ὁ γὰρ καλῶς λέγων καλός τε καὶ ἀγαθός.

2 p.1 14 ... at non itidem. A verb is understood from the preceding part of the sentence, now lost. For the omission of the verb after 'itidem' cf. Varro Ling. Lat. ^{ix 55} ~~48~~ nullius nostrum filium et filiam non apte discerni marem ac feminam; ^{...} contra deorum ^{et servorum} liberos non itidem.

2 p.1 14 maior meus Socrates: 'my ancestor Socrates', i.e. as the founder or forerunner of the Platonic philosophy. maior (s. of 'maiores')

is here used as the equivalent of the Greek πρόγονος, cf. Philostratus Vit. Apoll. 8 7 τὸν πρόγονον τῆς ἐμοντοῦ σοφίας. Apuleius refers to other earlier philosophers in what he regards as the Platonic tradition as 'maiores': Apol. 36 maiores meos, Aristotelen dico et Theophrastum et Eudemum et Lycon ceterosque Platonis minores. Cf. Gellius XIX 1 13 maiores nostri conditores sectae Stoicae. Lucian Herm. 15 τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων, τοῦ Χρυσίππου καὶ Ζήνωνος.

2 p.1 15 decorum adulescentem et diutule tacentem. Balance of sound where there is no real balance of meaning. diutule. The word is post-classical and means 'for some while', 'for quite a while', indicating that the period of time is relatively long rather than relatively short. Thus the diminutive suffix appears to intensify rather than diminish the force of the adverb, cf. 'longule', p.2 9 below. For 'diutule' of a prolonged silence, cf. Gellius XI/ 16⁶ cum diutule tacitus in cogitando fuisset, respondi tandem; Macrobius Sat. VII 11 3 cumque diutule tacentem crebris ille hortatibus excitaret. Compare its use at Fl. 18 p.36 14 to describe the delay of Luathlus in paying his fees to his master, which delay forced the latter to resort to litigation. Gellius V 10 7 also uses the word in his own version of the same story. Cf. Macrobius Sat. VII 16/5 nuper enim mihi Tiburti agro meo exhibitum sunt apri quos obtulit silua uenantibus, et quia diutule continuata uenatio est, perlati sunt alii interdiu, noctu alii. For the intensifying force of the diminutive, see R. Hakamies, Etude sur l'origine et l'évolution du diminutif latin et sa survie dans les langues romaines (Helsinki 1951) p.29 ff.

2 p.1 16 alicuid et loquere. et h re = 'etiam'. The youth was patently good looking, and if he could say something besides (i.e. to match his looks), Socrates would become aware of him. Helm correctly prefers 'et

loquere' to the vulgate reading 'eloquere'. Cf. Apul. Metam. V 23 quae dum insatiabili animo Psyche, satis et curiosa, etc., where Lütjohann and van der Vliet, following inferior MS authority, wish to delete 'et'. Helm retains 'et' and interprets 'praesertim cum etiam curiosa esset.'

2 p.1 16 scilicet Socrates tacentem hominem non uidebat. Mougaret in Revue des Etudes Latines VI p.45 wishes to delete this sentence as a gloss on the preceding one. The sequence of thought would, however, be less clear without it. This sentence implies that only speech reveals the man i.e. the mind (of the speaker); the following sentence develops the converse of this, that men are to be assessed not by ^{the} eyes but by the mind (of the hearer).

2 p.2 1 acie ... obtutu. Properly of 'oculorum' and figuratively of 'mentis' and 'animi'. This anecdote of Socrates conflicts in principle with another in which Apuleius relates that Socrates assessed Plato, purely from external appearance, at their first meeting: De Platone et eius Dogmate I 1 quem (sc. Platonem) ubi aspexit ille ingeniumque intimum de exteriori conspicatus est facie: 'hic ille erat, amici,' inquit 'de Academia Cupidinis cygnus.' It is more in line, however, with Cicero Tusc. V 47 sic enim princeps ille philosophiae disserebat: qualis cuiusque animi adfectus esset, talem esse hominem; qualis autem homo ipse esset, talem eius esse orationem etc. The antithesis between physical and mental 'sight' might, in a Platonist, be taken to imply the inferiority of the senses in general, but Apuleius uses it to introduce a contrast between hearing and sight, to the disadvantage of the latter, before returning to the antithesis between eye and mind, and the limitations of human vision, in the comparison with the eagle.

2 p.2 2 Plautino milite. Stratophanes in Plautus' Truculentus.

The line quoted is 489, explained in the succeeding line: qui audiunt audita dicunt, qui uident plane sciunt. Cf. Polybius XII 27, who quotes Heracleitus as saying 'the eyes are more accurate witnesses than the ears' (ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ὠτῶν ἀκριβέστεροι μάρτυρες fr. 101a Diels). A similar sentiment is expressed by Candaules in Herodotus I 8, when suggesting that Gyges should see for himself the beauty of Candaules' wife: ὥτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἔδοντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν. In converting the line, Apuleius gives 'auritus' a rather different sense; we are concerned now with 'hearing' as such, not with 'hearing about'. For the superiority of hearing to sight as an instrument of the mind, cf. Aristotle De Sensu 437 a, who cites as proof the fact that babies born blind grow up more intelligent than those born deaf.

2 p.2 4 immo enimuero: 'nay further', a use imitated from the pre-classical dramatists. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.492 distinguishes two uses:

- (a) the simple adversative type, e.g. Pacuvius (Fibbeck, Trag. 365):
PYLADES ego sum Crestes. CRESTES immo enimuero ego sum, inquam, Orestes.
(b) The corrective-intensive type, in which the second statement goes beyond the first, e.g. Terence Eunuchus 329: PARMENO incommodo hercle.
CHAEREA immo enimuero infeliciter. In Apuleius this second meaning seems to predominate, as in the present instance. Cf. Fl. 16 p.29, 17; ibid. p.27 11; Apol. 100 p.110 24..

2 p.2 5 conuerterat. Cf. 'nec ... congruebat' above. Socrates had in effect transposed the idea contained in Plautus' verse. Emendations such as Lipsius conuerteret and Fruter^{-lus}conuerterit, presumably on the basis that Socrates could not have seen Plautus' line, merely miss the point.

2 p.2 6 ceterum. For the adversative force of 'ceterum' in Apuleius, see Helm in Wiener Studien LXX (1957) p.131 ff.; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.492.

2 p.2 6 si magis pollerent...concederum. Men have always acknowledged the physical superiority of other less intelligent creatures, e.g. their greater speed, sense of smell, hearing and sight, the last being especially attributed to birds of prey like the eagle. Pliny N.H. X 191 ex sensibus ante cetera homini tactus, dein gustus; reliquis superatur a multis; aquilae clarius cernunt, uultures sagacius odorantur, liquidius auouunt talpae etc. Seneca De Benef. II 29 queruntur, quod non magnitudine corporum aequemus elephantos...quod sagacitate nos narium canes uincant, quod acie luminum aquilae. St. Augustine Ciu. Dei VIII 15 quis hominum uidendo aequabitur aquilis et uulturibus? For the sharp eye of the eagle, cf. Homer Il. XVI 674-5 πάντοσε παπταίνων ὥς τ' αἰετός, ὃν ῥά τέ φασιν / ὀξύτατον δέρκεσθαι κτλ. and Horace Sat. I 3 26 cur in amicorum uitis tam cernis acutum / quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius? Cf. A. Otto, Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer (Hildesheim 1962) p.32 f. Apuleius also uses the adjective 'miluinus' = 'sharp-sighted' at Metam. VI 27.

2 p.2 8 longule dissita...proxume adsita. For 'longule' = 'very far', see note on diutule, 2 p.1 15 above. For its collocation with 'dissita', cf. Metam. IX 15 auribus grandissimis praeditus cuncta longule etiam dissita facillime sentiebam. dissita...adsita. These two compounds seem to have been coined by Apuleius on the analogy of 'situs' (past participle of sino). So the Thes. Ling. Lat. The alternative derivation from 'dissero' and 'adsero' (Index Apuleianus) would give a wrong meaning. proxume: for 'proxime', here only in Apuleius. The statement that we fail to see

what is close at hand is probably to be taken in a relative sense, in contrast with 'longule' and in preparation for the figurative expression 'intra lapidis iactum'. caecutimus. Ante- and post-classical. Kretschmann p.84.

2 p.2 10 optutum istum terrenum. 'iste' here = 'hic noster', a use common in late Latin; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.184. Cf. Metam. I 4 isto gemino optutu = his meis oculis (N. Molt ad loc.); Fl. 9 p.13 12 baxeas istas = 'has meas baxeas'. terrenum = 'earthbound', often in a figurative sense, but here more literally, as opposed to the eagle's vision. In what follows Apuleius works out a fairly complex analogy between the relative dimness or clearness of sight and the regions in which it operates. In so doing he combines literal and metaphorical meanings in a manner which is highly suggestive and poetical.

2 p.2 10 si...redigas. The verb is transitive and elsewhere in Apuleius has an expressed object, cf. Fl. 9 p.11 3 meum unumquodque dictum ... ad limam et lineam certam redigitis. Hence emendations supplying an object, 'cuncta' (Rohde), or 'res' (Furser in Hermathena XIV 1906 p.398). Oudendorp considers that 'res' can be understood from the context. It is possible, however, to understand an object ('uerba eius') from what follows: 'if you apply (his words) to ... then most truly did the poet say ...', since Homer did not in fact say anything about human vision in general, and the truth of his words (as paraphrased) depends on our so applying them. (See following note).

2 p.2 11 uerissime poeta egregius dixit ... 'uerissime' (here only in Apuleius) is used of a transferred description which is highly apt rather than literally true; cf. Cicero Rep. II 4 et quod de Corintho dixi, id haud scio an liceat de cuncta Graecia uerissime dicere. Homer at Il. III

10 ff. compares the dust raised by advancing troops to a hill fog:

εὔτ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι νότος κατέχευεν ὁμίχλην,
ποιμέσιν οὔ τι φίλην, κλέπτῃ δέ τε νυκτὸς ὁμείνω,
τόσσον τίς τ' ἐπιλεύσσει ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ λαῶν ἦσιν.

uelut nebulam robis ob oculos offusam. Apuleius' adaptation of Homer's simile also recalls Virgil Aen. II 604-6

aspice (namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tuenti
mortalis hebetat uisus tibi et umida circum
caligat, nubem eripiam ...)

Cf. Servius ad loc. dicitur enim nebula orta de terris obesse nostris obtutibus, unde aquila, quia supra nebulam est, plus uidet. A comment which in its turn is reminiscent of Apuleius.

2 p.2 13 intra lapidis iactum = ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ λαῶν ἦσιν.

For the phrase, cf. Virgil Aen. XI 608 intra iactum teli.

2 p.2 13 aquila enim uero. The description of the eagle which follows has its source in two Homeric similes. At Il. XVII 673 ff. the departure of Menelaus, looking all round him in search of Nestor, is compared to the flight of the eagle in search of prey:

πάντοσε παπτοίνων ὥς τ' αἰετός, ὃν ῥά τέ αἰσιν
ὀξύτατον δέρκεσθαι ὑπουρανίων πετεηνῶν,
ὃν τε καὶ ὑφ' ὅθ' ἐόντα πόδας ταχὺς οὐκ ἔλσθε κτᾶξ
θέρμῃ ὑπ' ἁμ' ἐκόντῳ κατακείμενος, ἐλλὰ τ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ
ἔσσυτο, καὶ τέ μιν ὦκα λαβὼν ἐξείλετο θυμόν. ✓

At Il. XXII 308 ff. Hector's attack on Achilles is compared to the swoop of the eagle:

οἴμισεν δὲ εἰς αἰετὸς ὥς τ' αἰετὸς ὑπ' ἐπετῆεις,
ὅς τ' εἴσιν πεδίοις διὰ νεῖων ἐρεβεννῶν
ἀρπύγων ἢ ὄρν' ἐμυλῆν ἢ πτόκα λεγόν.

Cf. Brakman, Nnemosyne XXXVI 1908 p.30. Apuleius adds to the Homeric picture the ascent of the eagle above the clouds, and the comprehensive sweep of its vision, thus suggesting without actually stating that its keen sight is due to its elevation in higher regions. enimvero. For the force of enimvero, asseverative or adversative, see Kretschmann p.109 and R. Helm in Philologus Supplementband IX p.573 f. Kühner-Stegmann 2 II pp.126-7. Cf. note on 'immo enimvero' at 2 p.2 4 above.

2 p.2 13 cum ... sublimauit. 'sublimare' is ante- and post-classical. Cf. Kretschmann p.77. For temporal 'cum' and the indicative (of repeated action) see Kühner-Stegmann² II p.337 f. euecta alis totum id spatium. For the accusative with 'euecta' in the sense of 'passing beyond', cf. Tac. Ann. XII 36 fama eius euecta insulas. Here 'euecta' also has the sense of 'raised', i.e. 'carried through and out of'.

2 p.2 15 pluitur et ringitur. The impersonal use of the passive forms of these verbs, normally impersonal in the active, is an archaism (described as 'falsch' by Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.288, and 'exaggerated' by Wackernagel, Vorlesungen über Syntax (p.145), in imitation of Plautus, who has 'caletur' impersonally at Capt. 8 and Truc. 64; cf. Cato Agr. 88 2 ubi nubily~~are~~abitur; Varro has the active impersonal at R.R. I 13 5 si nubily~~are~~are coepit.

2 p.2 15 ultra quod cacumen. i.e. the upper limit of the 'aer', region of cloud and storm, cf. 'fastigio huius' below. For 'cacumen' in the sense of 'limit', cf. Lucretius I 749, where it = Greek ὄρος.

2 p.2 15 nec fulmini nec fulguri locus est. According to Apul. De lundo 3 thunder and lightning belong, with snow and ice etc., to the lower part of 'aer'. In Fl. 2 Apuleius does not distinguish between the two parts of 'aer' but puts the eagle on the borderline with 'aether',

without exactly specifying in which element the bird is flying. Absence of thunder and lightning is not elsewhere mentioned as especially characteristic of the higher region, cf. the description of 'aether' in De Mundo 33 which specifically exempts it from cloud, frost, snow and wind, quoting Homer's description of Olympus as a parallel (Od. VI 42 f.); cf. the divine homes of the gods in Lucretius III 18-22. The distinction between 'aer' and 'aether' is not always carefully maintained, especially by the poets, cf. Virgil Aen. I 90 intonare poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether (Servius ad loc. aetherem hoc loco pro aere posuit. nubes enim, unde et fulmina, aeris sunt non aetheris. et frequenter Virgilius duo ista confudit). Ennius and Euripides both place the flying eagle in 'aer': Ennius Ann. III fr. 2 (Vahlen³, 147-8) et densis aquila pennis obnixa uolabat / uento quem perhibent Graium genus aera lingua. Cf. Euripides fr. 1047 (Nauck) ἔπας μὲν ὄηρ σίετ' ἑρῶσιμος / ἔπασα δὲ χθονὶ ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ πατρὶς.

2 p.2 16 in ipso, ut ita dixerim, solo aetheris et fastigio haemas; 'the floor of heaven and roof of the storm'. For this striking phrase, see Introd. p.40. Cf. 'caeleste solum', Ovid Metam. I 73, and 'mundano fastigio', Apul. De Mundo 33 init. If solo aetheris corresponds to 'aetheris exordium' at De deo Socr. 8 p.16 14 (P. Thomas in Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres, 1902, p.289), the phrase would, if pressed, take the eagle as far as the orbit of the moon (De deo Socr. ibid., cf. Lucan IX 5 f. qua niger astriferis connectitur axibus aer / quodque patet terras inter lunaeque meatus etc.). In fact, as we are told in the same passage of the De deo Socratis, no bird flies higher than Mt. Olympus. Even allowing for some exaggeration (softened by the phrase 'ut ita dixerim'), Apuleius would seem here to be combining the philosophical with the Homeric conception, according to which the lower level of aether is more or less coincident with the top of Olympus

(cf. the passage in De Mundo 33 referred to in previous note). For this more poetical approach, cf. Metam. VI 6 fin. (Venus re-entering heaven with her choir of birds). fastigio hiemis is used here in the sense of 'storm' or 'stormy region' cf. Helm app. crit. Elsewhere in Apuleius 'hiemps' always = the season of winter (Apol. 22 hiemps anni erat; De Mundo 22 pruinas hiemis). Rohde's emendation 'aeris' for 'hiemis' seems, however, greatly to weaken the force of the phrase. Moreover, 'hiemps' stands here not simply for 'aer' but for 'aer turbidus' (cf. De Mundo 33 init.); this region is not always stormy (ibid. 3), but for purposes of symbolism its stormy aspect has been stressed in describing the eagle's passage. Apuleius does not explain how it is that the eagle can see clearly when looking down through the same clouds it has left behind; the imagination assumes that they have vanished.

2 p.2 17 cum igitur ... Resumptive (see Introd. p.40). extulit.

See note on 'cum ... sublimant' at 2 p.2 13 above.

2 p.2 18 nutu clementi. Of the gentle up and down movement of the wings of the eagle in flight. 'nutus' of motion of other parts of the body than the head seems not to be found before Apuleius, in the instance cited by Lewis & Short, Pliny N.H. VI 188 quibusdam pro sermone nutus motusque membrorum est, 'membrorum' seems to depend on 'motus' only. For 'nutus' of the flapping of wings, cf. 'nutare' at Metam. VI 15 festinat libratissimae pinnarum nutantium volibus ... remigium dextra laevaue porrigens (which has several other echoes of the present passage). There is therefore no need to emend nutu (see Helm app. crit.).

2 p.2 18 laeuorsum uel dextrorsum. 'laeuorsum' (cf. 'sinistrorsum'), formed on the analogy of 'dextrorsum', first appears in Apuleius (Kregschmann p.64), cf. Metam. I 21 laeuorsum abierunt. For 'dextrorsum' cf. Metam. VI 29 me ... dirigere dextrorsum ... gestiebat.

2 p.2 18 tanta mole corporis. Ablative of accompaniment ('with the vast bulk of his body') or possibly, description ('a bird of huge bodily size'). Cudendorp, following Stewech^{ius}, reads tota for tanta.

2 p.2 19 uelificatus alas: 'his wings spread like sails'. Probably from the active 'uelificare' rather than the deponent form 'uelificari', both of which normally mean 'to sail'. A different but equally unusual sense of the active occurs at De deo Socr. 7 auem uelificet, 'make a bird fly'.

2 p.2 19 modico caudae gubernaculo. This phrase must mean either (a) 'by the slight steerage of his tail', or (b) 'by his small rudder of a tail'. The second meaning seems to be the one generally accepted, e.g. by Butler, who translates 'by the movement of his tail which, small though it be, serves as a rudder', and Vallette: 'se sert de sa queue comme d'un petit gouvernail', cf. the Latin paraphrase in the Valpy edition of Cudendorp's text: cauda ueluti paruo gubernaculo'. In its favour is the fact that the eagle's tail does appear to be small in relation to the rest of its body (cf. 'tanta mole corporis' above). The first interpretation seems to give a more appropriate sense, and one which contributes to the picture of effortless scaring that Apuleius draws here ('nutu clementi ... quolibuit ... indefessa remigia'). 'gubernaculum' is not normally used in the sense of 'steerage', 'steering'; compare, however, Apuleius' use of uehiculum = 'carrying', 'porterage' at Metam. VIII 30 dea uehiculo meo sublata et humi reposita etc. For the image of the ship cf. Lucretius IV 898 ff., where the control of the body by the soul-atoms is illustrated by the movement of a large ship before the wind under the direction of a single hand on a single rudder:

quippe etenim uentus subtili corpore tenuis
trudit agens magnam magno molimine nauem
et manus una regit quantouis impete euntem
atque gubernaculum contorquet quolibet unum.

For the idea that birds steer their flight by their tails (and thus taught men the art of steering by sea) cf. Pliny N.H. X 28 idem (sc. milui) uidentur artem gubernandi docuisse caudae flexibus, in caelo monstrante natura quod opus esset in profundo.

2 p.2 20 inde cuncta despiciens. The universality of the eagle's view is in proportion to the great height it has attained.

2 p.2 20 ibidem pinnarum eminens indefessa remigia. eminens is Helm's emendation of the MS eminj = eminus, which van der Vliet retains, placing it after 'despiciens'. Helm gives to eminens an unusual active sense equivalent to 'porrigens' = 'stretching out', as in Metam. VI 15 where Jupiter's eagle hovers to take water from the Styx 'remigium dextra laevaue porrigens'; this equivalence he bases on Metam. II 21 porrigit dexteram ... duobusque infimis conclusis digitis ceteros eminens [porrigens] (so Helm), where eminens is the MS reading on which he regards porrigens as a gloss, and eminus (the usual reading) is a later marginal gloss (see A. J. Kronenberg in C.Q. II, 1908, p.312). It is doubtful, however, whether eminens could bear this active meaning, which is not supported by the three other instances of 'eminus' cited as transitive in TLL. Other emendations supply a word for checking or slowing down the movement of the wings, substituting it either for ibidem or for eminus. So Heinsius inhibens; Thomas demittens or remittens; Goldbacher imminuens; Purser (Hermathena XIV p.398) deminuens; van der Vliet reads inde cuncta despiciens eminus, inhibens pinnarum indefessa remigia. The objection to any such proposed reading is that a large bird, when hovering, can be seen to hold its wings wide apart, with the minutest fluttering motion; any slackening or retraction of the wings would cause it rather to descend; cf. Lucretius VI 743-4 remigi oblitae pinnarum uela remittunt / praecipitesque cadunt. For other suggested emendations, such as innitensque (Oudendorp), indefessa remigio (Scaliger), see Helm app. crit. ibidem

(if retained) = 'at the same spot' or 'at the same moment', either with what follows or with what precedes (= simul, with 'cuncta despiciens', Kronenberg). pinnarum indefessa remigia. Contrast De deo Socr. 8 fin. cum illis fessa sunt remigia pinnarum. Apuleius is indebted to the poets for the phrase 'pinnarum remigia'; cf. Homer Od. XI 12^h-5, Aesch. Ag. 52; Virgil Aen. I 301 and VI 20 remigium alarum; Ovid Metam. V 558 alarum remis.

2 p.2 21 cunctabundo uolatu: 'hovering'. Cf. Apul. Metam. XI 27 cunctabundo uestigio, i.e. 'halting' (of lameness).

2 p.3 1 pendula: 'suspended', 'floating' in the air (Greek μετέωρος). So also of clouds at De deo Socr. 10 pendulae et mobiles huc atque illuc uice nauium in aeris pelago uentis gubernantur. Elsewhere Apuleius has 'pendulos' in the more usual sense of 'hanging down', e.g. Metam. V 13 perdulos crines; so also of sails at De deo Socr. Prol. 1 pendula et flaccida.

2 p.3 1 circumtuetur. Found only here.

2 p.3 2 sese ruat. Cf. Homer's ἑσσυτο Il. XVII 677. Apuleius' use of 'ruere' with a reflexive object is unusual but forceful ('launch itself'). Terence has a similar use of 'proruere' at Eun. 599 foras simul omnes proruunt se. fulminis uicem. Cf. 'tormenti instar' of the eagle's descent in the later description of Isidorus Orig. XII 7 10: aquila ab acumine oculorum uocata. tanti enim contuitus esse dicitur, ut cum super maria immobili pinna ^afer_htur nec humanis pateat obtutibus, de tanta sublimitate pisciculos natere uideat, ac tormenti instar descendens raptam praedam pinnis ad litus pertrahat. (The bird in question here is the ἰλιόετος, or osprey, cf. Aristotle N.A. IX 34, Pliny N.h. X 8).

2 p.3 3 de caelo improuisa. 'improuisa', if taken with what follows, must mean 'unseen'. Müller (Rhein. Mus. XXII (1867) p.647) reads 'improuiso' and punctuates after this word, not after 'uicem', thus taking 'de caelo improuiso' with sese ruat, not with cernens below. Thomas also allows the sense to run on without punctuation after 'uicem'. Helm, like Vallette, considers the true break to be after 'uicem', and wishes to begin a fresh sentence here, assuming the later part of it to be incomplete.

2 p.3 3 campis pecua ... montibus feras ... homines urbibus. Adnominal ablatives of place, a construction which is barely permissible in classical prose. pecua (from 'pccu'), mostly ante-classical. homines urbibus: Oudendorp transposes to urbibus homines for the sake of balance, but the change of order here may well be intentional. The addition of 'men in their cities' serves to increase the comprehensiveness of the eagle's view but seems less relevant to the purpose of its swoop, and so perhaps tends to support Helm's conjecture that a main verb (he suggests conspicit) is missing between 'uno optutu' and 'sub eodem impetu cernens'.

2 p.3 5 unde ... transfodiat, unde ... inuncet. unde seems to be either interrogative ('a qua parte'), depending on 'cernens', with a deliberative subjunctive as in 'quorsus ... sese ruat' above, or relative ('ex quo' sc. 'impetu'), in which case the subjunctive is final. If there is no break after 'uicem', these clauses could go back to 'quaerit' or 'quorsus ... sese ruat', but this seems less natural. (If, as Helm thinks, the later part of the sentence is incomplete, the clauses could be linked with some lost statement. His suggestion of supplying 'conspicit' would definitely link them with 'cernens'). inuncet: ante- and post-classical, cf. Lucilius 492 (Marx) nummos inuncat; Columella R.R. VII 3 10 uelut hamis inuncata; Apul. Apol. 30 hamis inuncanda.

2 p.3 6 incuriosum ... meticulosum. "fere 'securum', 'nihil male timentem'". So H. Armini interprets 'incuriosum' in Eranos XXVI p.330. 'meticulosum' is in contrast, 'timid'. The word is used by Apuleius here only, apparently borrowed from Plautus, Amph. 293, Most. 1101 (in the latter example the meaning is 'risky'). For Apuleius' penchant for adjectives ending in -osus, cf. Fl. 6 p.6 3 populosus; Fl. 18 p.37 7 senticosus; Kretschmann p.50 f.

2 p.3 7 quodcumque esui animatum uel laniatui. animatum in the sense of 'living creature' (= Lat. 'animal') is found only here. esui ... laniatui. Cf. Fl. 9 p.12 8 f. habebat indutui ... tunicam habebat cinctui balteum. The final dative of a verbal noun is fairly frequent in early Latin, also in Varro and Sallust. Cf. Plautus Cist. 70 gustui dat dulce (sc. amor), and for its adnominal use Plautus Curc. 558 linteum extersui, cf. Apul. Metam. I 23 oleum unctui et lintea tersui ... profer. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II pp.98-99. laniatui is Dousa's emendation of MS laniatũ (= laniatum), which is probably a corruption arising from an early attempt to balance the word with animatum. Other such attempts include 'inanimatum', 'alatum' and 'lanatum', none of which seems very probable (see Helm app. crit.). Scriverius transposes 'esui' and 'animatum', thus reading 'esui uel laniatui', which merely serves to emphasise that the two words are not quite parallel in thought.

For the eagle's prey of lamb or hare, cf. Homer's similes (Il. XVII 676 and XXII 310); Aesch. Ag. 118-19, where the prey is a hare (cf. Varro R.R. III 12 3, Sil. Ital. V 283-4). An eagle snatches a lamb at Val. Flacc. I 156 ff. Aristotle H.A. IX 32 mentions hares, fawns and foxes as among the animals hunted by the eagle; Pliny N.H. X 17 says that some eagles not only prey on the smaller quadrupeds but also fight with stags and snakes (for the snake, cf. Homer Il. XII 201 f. and Ovid Metam. IV 362 f.).

For ancient ideas of the different varieties of eagle and their characteristics, see Aristotle H.A. IX 32-34, and the corresponding account in Pliny N.H. X 6 ff. Homer's eagle is probably the black 'hare-killer', distinguished for strength and swiftness (Il. XXI 232-3), but not for size. Apuleius' eagle has at least one feature in common with the larger white-tailed eagle, namely that its hunting ground includes town areas and level country as well as mountains. Apuleius' picture is probably a composite and idealised one. Both Aristotle and Pliny assign the exceptionally sharp vision and spectacular dive from a great height to the ἀλιδέτορς (alleged to be able to look directly at the sun). According to Aristotle, however, it is a common characteristic of the eagle that 'it flies high in order to obtain the widest view.'

FLORIDA 3

Fl. 3 begins with a brief didactic account of the contribution of Hyagnis, the father of Marsyas, to the origin and development of music, as inventor of the double aulos which his son inherited. Apuleius then tells the story of the contest between Marsyas and Apollo, but in a way which is extremely unfavourable to Marsyas, representing him as a mere savage. In the absence of any context for the passage, it is hard to explain or justify Apuleius' treatment of Marsyas, who elsewhere in literature claims respect as the half-divine teacher of Olympus (Plato Minos 318 b, Symp. 215 c), a virtuoso musician who would have been more than a match for Apollo if the latter had not resorted to tricks (Apollod. I 4 2, Diod. III 59). In Plato's Symposium (215 b) Socrates himself is compared to Marsyas, both in looks and in the inspirational effect of his words.

It has been suggested, with some plausibility, that Apuleius' motive stems from the attack on himself by his opponents at his trial at Sabratha (see Introd. p.23). Some of the points imputed as faults to Apollo by Marsyas are reminiscent of charges brought against Apuleius, and resemble them in being not only misconceived but also totally irrelevant to the point at issue. Apuleius may at this time have been still under attack by envious ill-wishers (cf. Fl. 7 and 9).

In contrasting the appearance and mentality as well as the skills of Marsyas and Apollo, Apuleius is following a principle diametrically opposed to the earlier part of Fl. 2, namely that mind and character can be inferred from external appearance. This subject may have been treated scientifically by Apuleius in a work entitled Physiognomonica, the Apuleian authorship of which has been doubted, but, in my opinion, on insufficient grounds. See R. Förster, Scriptores Physiognomonic

(Leipzig, 1893) I p. cxxxvii; Elizabeth C. Evans, Physiognomonics in the Ancient World (Philadelphia, 1969) p.16. In assessing the authenticity of this work, the evidence of Florida 3 and 15 has not been sufficiently taken into account, even by those who accept it as genuine, e.g. V. Rose, Anecdota Graeca et Graecolatina I p.61 ff.

3 p.3 8 Hyagnis fuit ... Marsyae tibicinis pater et magister. Apuleius is following the tradition which makes Marsyas the son and pupil of Hyagnis, and in his turn the teacher and lover of Olympus: Plutarch De Mus. V 1 (Mor. 1132) and the Souda s.v. "Ολυμπος (b); cf. the scholiast on Plato Minos 318 b; Nonnos Dionys. X 232; Pausanias X 30 9. Apollodorus I 4 2 and the scholiast on Plato Rep. 399 e refer to Marsyas as the son of Olympus. Hyginus Fab. 165 calls him 'Olagri filius' (thus confusing him with Orpheus).

3 p.3 8 ut fando accepimus. 'As we have heard tell'. fando means either 'in speech', as at Virgil Aen. IV 333 quae plurima fando enumerare uales, or as here, 'by report', cf. Plaut. Epid. 496 fando ego istunc hominem nunquam audiui ante hunc diem. The expression 'fando audire' (or 'accipere') is found at all periods in both poetry and prose = 'hear mention of', especially in the idiomatic negative sense 'unheard of', e.g. Plaut. Amph. 587-8 quae neque fieri / possunt neque fando unquam accepit quisquam, Cicero Nat. Deor. I 82 ne fando quidem auditum est crocodilum ... uiolatum ab Aegyptio; Pliny Pan. 86 2 fando inauditum. As a positive expression, it is used of people or events removed by time or distance from the personal experience of the hearer, e.g. Silius Italicus Pun. X 483-4 si Forsena fando / auditus tibi, si Cocles, si Lydia castra; cf. Virgil Aen. II 81, Ovid Metam. XV 497. 'fando auditum' is opposed to written record at Livy IV 3 10 en unquam creditis fando auditum esse Numam

Pompilium ... Romae regnasse? So 'fando' and 'legendo' are sometimes contrasted, as by Cato ap. Gell. XVIII 9 1 eiusmodi scelera nefaria, quae neque fando neque legendo audiuius; cf. Apul. Apol. 81 fando ... legendo ... experiendo. Here Apuleius seems to be using fando in the general sense of 'fama' ('by tradition'), cf. 'ut fama est', 'as the story goes'.

3 p.3 9 solus ante alios ca/n̄tus canere. Helm accepts Colvius' catus for MS cantus, to be taken with canere ('skilled to sing'). According to Varro L.L. VII 46 'catus' is a Sabine word = 'acutus' ('sharp'); it is used by early writers and by Cicero in the sense of 'sagacious': Plaut. Most. 186, Pseud. 681, Ter. And. 855, Ennius ap. Cic. Tusc. I 18, cf. Hor. Carm. I 10 3 uoce formasti catus (of Mercury); with infinitive at Carm. III 12 10 catus ... iaculari. I would prefer, with Vallette (following Pyrrhus), to retain the MS reading cantus canere, understanding canere as a historic infinitive. For this infinitive, used of habitual or characteristic action, cf. Virgil Aen. IV 421-2 solam nam perfidus ille / te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus; Ter. Ad. 864; Lucan I 132 ff. The phrase solus ante alios would in that case be virtually equivalent to 'primus' below. If catus is read, solus ante alios would more naturally be taken as 'preeminently' or 'supremely', i.e. as the equivalent of a superlative, as at Virg. Aen. X 821 fida ante alios quae sola Camillae. This does not, however, suit the context so well, the required meaning being not that Hyagnis was the best musician of his time but that he was the earliest, and indeed the only person to play real tunes, as opposed to the weird noises made by the other rustics. Colvius' other suggestion, solitus for solus, weakens the sense without really improving the grammar. Lipsius' solers gives the same sense as catus and seems on the whole more convincing.

3 p.3 10 tam flexanimo sono. See Helm app. crit. and Leo, ALL XII p. 97-8. Leo conjectures that the reading of F infexa is a corruption of tam inflexa anima, which in turn arose from an earlier tamen flexanimo, tamen being the present MS reading with pluriformi and multiforati which follow. Helm

now wishes to read tamen in all three places (see addenda p.50), but the sense is against this. For the repetition of tam cf. Apol. 9 p.10 7-9. Colvius wrote tam inflexa anima sono, followed by Oudendorp with tam inflexae animae sono, i.e. with reference to the 'breath' that is 'modulated' by the instrument; hence Krüger, followed by van der Vliet, inflexo animae sono (to which he compares Cic. Or. 57). It is more likely, however, in view of 'pluriformi' and 'multiforati', that a single polysyllabic epithet intervened between tam and sono in the first colon. flexanimo, 'soul-stirring', Greek ψυχαγωγικός (or θελεῖφρων -- so Fordyce on Catullus 64 330), was first suggested by Lipsius and has been accepted by Scaliger, Elmenhorst, Floridus, and among modern editors, by Helm and Vallette. The word occurs in Pacuvius (Ribbeck² 177): o flexanima atque omnium regina rerum oratio' and again in a passive sense (ib. 422-3): flexanima tamquam lymphata aut Bacchi sacris / commota. Cf. Catullus 64 330 quae tibi flexanimo ^{mentem} perfundat amore (where one MS reads flexo animo); Martianus Capella IX 906 Orpheus et Amphion Arionque ... flexanimum pariter edidere concentum. See also P. Thomas in Bull. de l'acad. roy. de Belgique 1902, p.290 f. and Mnemosyne XLIX 1921 p.51.

3 p.3 ll pluriformi modo. 'pluriformis' = 'multiplex', 'uarius', apparently coined by Apuleius on the analogy of 'uniformis' = 'simplex' (Tac. Dial. 32) and classical 'multiformis'. Cf. Martianus Capella VII 7 29 multiplicem pluriformemque uestem. The phrase pluriformi modo suggests either stylistic variety or plurality of mode (or both). According to Pausanias IX 12 5 Pronomos of Thebes was the first to invent an aulos capable of playing more than one mode, cf. Athen. XIV 31 (631). Pliny N.H. XVI 170-1, describing the type of reed used for making the tibia, contrasts the early period down to Antigenidas, 'cum adhuc simplici musica uterentur', with later

times when more was required of the instrument, 'postquam uarietas accessit et cantus quoque luxuria'. Pliny's source is Theophrastus H.P. IV 11 4-5, who refers to the time before Antigenidas ἡνικ' ἡϋλουν ἀπλάστως, as opposed to later ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν πλάσιν μετέθεσαν.

3 p.3 11 multiforati tibia: 'a pipe with many stops'. For the suffix -tilis, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I p.235. No examples of this compound are cited before Apuleius, cf. Metam. X 32 tibiae multiforatales; Sidonius Ep. VIII 9 uoce uariata quasi tibiis multiforatilibus. 'Oudendorp ad loc.) compares the Greek epithet πολύτροτος, Anth. Pal. IX 266 1 and 505 5. Cf. Statius Theb. VIII 222 et moderata sonum uario spiramine buxus (on which the schol. comments 'tibiam significat uarie formatam'). Horace A.P. 202-4 mentions the earlier type of tibia as having fewer stops:

tibia non ut nunc orichalco uincta tubaeque

aemula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine paucō ...

Servius on Virg. Aen. IX 618 biforem dat tibia cantum, quotes Varro as authority for a tibia with two holes (but this may be a misunderstanding): fr. 84b (Goetz & Schoell p.218) ^atib^a Phrygia dextra unum foramen habet, sinistra duo, quorum unum acutum sonum habet, alterum grauem; cf. 84a Varro ait ... quattuor foraminum fuisse tibiae apud antiquos: nam et se ipsum ait in Marsyae templo uidisse tibiae quattuor foraminum. The earliest discovered auloi (late 6th or early 5th century) have 6 holes; the later may have had 15 or 16, and were classified according to pitch rather than mode (Aristox. Harm. 20-21, Athen. XIV 36 (634)). At Rome the tibia was important both in religious ritual and for theatrical performances, cf. Ovid Fast. VI 657 ff. and Pliny N.H. X.I 172, who states that in his own time those made for the former purpose were of box-wood, for the latter, of lotus-wood, asses' bones and silver.

3 p.3 12 reperitu nouo commodum oriebatur. For abstract nouns ending in -tus as compared with those in -tio, see Leimann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.743 and Krietschmann pp.37-8. 'reperitus' is first found in Apuleius, cf. Metam. XI 2 reperitu laetata filiae; XI 11 sollerti reperitu. Among other similar nouns coined by Apuleius are 'locutus' (Fl. 15 p.22 10), 'reflexus' (Fl. 6 p.6 4) and 'uolutus' (Fl. 10 p.16 10). commodum, 'just then', is colloquial, cf. Plaut. Cas. 593 ad te hercle ibam commodum.

3 p.3 13 nec quicquam omnium ... in primordio sui perfici. Elmenhorst compares Cic. Brutus 71 nihil est enim simul et inuentum et perfectum (see A. E. Douglas' note ad loc.). omnium rather pleonastically stresses quicquam, cf. De deo Socr. Prol. ³/₄ nec est quicquam omnium, quod habere *** et laudem diligentiae simul et gratiam celeritatis. Contrast its more appropriate use at Sall. Cat. 36 5 neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat. primordio sui. For this use of the genitive of the reflexive pronoun rather than the possessive adjective, cf. Tac. Hist. III 34 hic exitus Cremonae anno ducentesimo octogesimo sexto a primordio sui. Apul. -pol. 82 principio sui. The genitive may have a partitive rather than a purely possessive sense.

3 p.3 14 ante est sseu rudimentum quam rei experimentum. The contrast here is clearly between rough pioneer work and the mature skill of the craftsman; it is less clear, however, how the words themselves can bear this meaning. For rudimentum in the sense of 'first attempt' or 'beginning' cf. Livy I 3 inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque primam puerilis regni; Pliny N.H. VII 3 de hoc lucis rudimento (of the new-born infant). experimentum usually means 'trial' or 'test of experience', but Apuleius seems to be using it in the sense of 'experienced work', i.e. work that is 'experientia perfectum'. The same antithesis occurs

at the beginning of the Prologue to the De deo Socratis: accipite rudimentum post experimentum, where the context shows that 'experimentum' refers to an already delivered (prepared) oration, 'rudimentum' to an extempore speech: 'hear the rough attempt after the finished product', i.e. a reversal of the natural order. For the antithesis between spes and res, which is fairly common, see A. Otto, Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer p.297, who quotes examples.

3 p.3 15 prorsus igitur. Resumptive after the digression: 'in a word then'. Apuleius is returning to the thought of the first sentence 'solus ante alios cantus canere'.

3 p.3 16 Vergilianus upilio seu busequa. The reference is to Damoetas in Eclogue III, whom Menalcas taunts (25 ff.): cantando tu illum? aut umquam tibi fistula cera / iuncta fuit? non tu triuivis, indocte solebas / stridentis miserum stipula disperdere carmen? Apuleius rather oddly interprets this banter as characterising the Vergilian rustic, whom he equates with a rough, boorish type. Cf. Apol. 10 sed Aemilianus, uir ultra Vergilianos opiliones et busequas rusticanus, agrestis quidem semper et barbarus. upilio = 'shepherd', cf. Virg. Ecl. V 19 uenit et upilio, tardi uenere subulci. Apuleius uses 'opilio' (which Walde-Hofmann LEW II p.211 calls the dialect form) at Metam. X 33 iudex rusticanus et opilio (sc. Paris). Cf. Plaut. Asin. 540 and Cato Agr. 10 1. busequa = 'herdsman' is post-classical, cf. Sidonius Ep. I 6 3; Apul. Metam. VIII 1 equisones opilionesque, etiam busequae.

3 p.3 17 'stridenti ... carmen'. The quotation (Ecl. III 27) is incorporated into the grammatical structure of the sentence, 'callebant' taking the place of Virgil's 'solebas'. The infinitive with 'callere' is a poetical extension of its use with 'scire' = 'know how to'. Virgil's

taunt is based on Theocritus V 5-7 τὰν ποίαν σύριγγα; τὸ γὰρ
 ποικῶ, δῶλε Σιβύρτα / ἐκτάσω σύριγγα; τί δ' οὐκέτι οὖν
 Κορύδωνι / ὀρκεῖ τοι κλέμας οὐλὸν πομπύσθεν ἔχοντι;

The reference is disparaging both to the quality of the tune and to the quality of the instrument. See Conington's note on 'stipula' and 'disperdere carmen' (Ecl. III 27).

3 p.3 18 largius ... promouisse. Scioppius' suggestion 'longius' is unnecessary. Cf. Varro L.L. X 70 accius haec in tragoediis largius a prisca consuetudine mouere coepit et ad formas Graecas uerborum magis reuocare. Cf. the use of 'abunde' at Gellius V 10 7 cum ... in studio quidem facundiae abunde promouisset. For the intransitive use of 'promouere', see Kühner-Stegmann I p.92, which refers to Terence Hec. 703 promoueo parum, and to the instance from Gellius cited above.

3 p.3 19 una tibia uelut una tuba personare. According to Athenaeus IV 82 (184), quoting Metrodorus of Chios, the earliest pipe was the single reed, which preceded the invention of both syrinx and aulos. In later times auloi were normally played in pairs (see following note). The comparison with 'una tuba' recalls Horace's criticism of the later tibia as 'tubae aemula' (A.P. 202-4, see note on 'multiforata tibia' 3 p.3 11 above), but here seems to suggest not so much loudness as monotony of tone and lack of range. This criticism of the early aulos does not in fact appear to be justified, see K. Schlesinger, The Greek Aulos, ch. 2 (The Aulos: its significance in the history of Greek music). personare is here used intransitively, of the person playing, cf. Apul. Metam. VIII 24 cymbalis et crotalis personantes, and Virg. Aen. I 741.

3 p.3 20 primus ... primus ... primus. The invention of the double aulos is here ascribed to Hyagnis; cf. Nonnos Dionys. XII 374-4

πρώτιστα νοήσει ... δέθορον ἄβροδς "Υαγνις εὐτρήτου μέλος αὐλοῦ. Pliny N.h. VII 204 ascribes the 'geminae tibiae' to Marsyas and the 'monaulus' to Pan. The usual story is that Athena, having invented the instrument, threw it away because it distorted her face, and Marsyas picked it up. Aristotle Fol. VIII 6 8, Athenaeus XIV 7 (616), Plutarch De Cohib. Ira VI (456), Hyginus Fab. 165, Ovid Fast. VI 697 ff., etc. The triple anaphora (primus ... primus ... primus) emphasises three aspects of the composite action of playing the double instrument: holding it, breathing into it, harmonising the sound.

3 p.3 20 discapedinavit. Found only here. *A noun 'capedo' with the meaning of 'a space between two walls' is given in the glossaries* ~~capedo means a space~~ *facial bowl or cup, Cic. Rep. VI 2, Pan. Stoic. I 11 (cf. Nat. Deor.*
~~III 43 the diminutive 'capeduncula') = 'capis', Livy X 7 40, Pliny N.H. XXXVII 7.~~ The noun 'intercapedo' is used by Cicero in the sense of 'interruption', Fam. XVI 21, Fin. I 18 etc. The verb 'discapedinare' was possibly coined by Apuleius on the analogy of 'intercapedinare', the present and past participles of which occur infrequently in later writers. The meaning seems to be 'part' or 'separate', ~~possibly with reference to the 'cupping' of the hands when playing, i.e. 'to part the cupped hands'.~~ Alternatively the meaning might be to 'provide a cup for each hand', implying a comparison of the two pipes to vessels into which the breath is poured and the sound mixed. An image of this kind is perhaps implicit in a passage from the Physiognomonica (Rose op.cit. p.105), where the accomodation of the soul to the outline of the body is compared, first, to the shaping of liquid by the vessel which contains it, then to the pouring of breath into various musical instruments, by which it is diversified in sound: ceteri tamen tam figuratricem corporis animam esse arbitrantur, quam ex qualitate corporis animam speciem mutuari, sicuti uxor constitutus in uasculo qui speciem ex uasculo

mutuatur, et sicuti spiritus infusus in fistulam uel in tibiā uel in tubam: nam cum uniformis sit spiritus, diuersum tamen sonat tuba fistula tibiae.

3 p.4 1 animauit. In the literal sense 'fill with breath'. Varro used 'anima' of air breathed into a musical instrument (ap. Non. 233 13). There is also perhaps a suggestion of the correlated meaning 'quicken with life'.

3 p.4 1 laeuis et dexteris foraminibus, acuto tinnitu et graui bombo.

By holes on the left and on the right, Apuleius presumably means the stops of the left and right tibia respectively. In the Phrygian instrument, the left pipe is said to have been longer, with a bell, and consequently lower in pitch ('tibiae impares'). If this is the reference here, Apuleius has inverted the order in the next clause, 'acuto ... graui'. Illustrations in art, however, show Marsyas playing with pipes of equal length (e.g. Plate 2 in Miss Schlesinger's book). According to Plutarch non posse suauiter XLIII 7 (1096 B), the pitch of the 'equal pipes' depended on the bore of the instrument, the narrower of the two playing lower. It is possible, however, that the phrase 'acuto tinnitu et graui bombo' refers not to any initial difference of pitch between the two pipes, but rather to the wider range of high and low notes which between them they provided for the skilled player. See Miss Schlesinger, op.cit. p.67 ff. (section on the technical and musical possibilities of the double aulos). tinnitus and bombus are both sound-words; for 'tinnitus' cf. Virg. G. IV 64, Aen. IX 809, Cvid Retam. V 204; for 'bombus', Catull. 64 263, Lucr. IV 546, Varro R.R. III 16 32 (where it is used of bees), cf. Greek βόμβος and Aristoph. Icharn. 866 βόμβουλοι. Apuleius uses a similar expression at Retam. 31 permiscens combis grauibz tinnitus acutos.

3 p.4 3 concentum musicum miscuit. concentus = συμφωνία.

Again, it is not clear whether this refers to the voices of the two pipes, sounding simultaneously, or to the blending of their notes, sounding separately, in a more complete range of musical sound. Musical concordance is normally regarded as a blend or mixture of high and low; cf. Cicero Rep. VI 18 acuta cum grauibz temperans uarios aequaliter concentus efficit.

3 p.4 4 patrissaret. Cf. Plaut. Pseud. 442, Ter. Ad. 564. 'patrisso', Greek πατριάζω, is formed on the analogy of other verbs in -isso from Greek -ίζω, cf. Plaut. Men. prol. 12 hoc argumentum graecissat, tamen non atticissat uerum sicilissat, Men. 303 cyathisso = κυθήζω, but 'moichisso' Plaut. Cas. 976 from μοιχεύω.

3 p.4 4 Phryx cetera et barbarus. Cf. Virgil Aen. III 595 at cetera Graius. Marsyas is generally associated with Celaenae in Phrygia, where the contest with Apollo is said to have taken place, Xenophon Mem. I 2 8, Herodotus VII 26, Pausanias I 30. Diodorus III 58 3 calls him Marsyas the Phrygian. Apuleius uses both 'Phryx' and 'barbarus' in a pejorative sense. Phrygian character is summed up in the proverb quoted by Cicero Flacc. 65 utrum igitur nostrum est an uestrum hoc prouerbum 'Phrygem plagis fieri solere meliorem'? Cf. the Souda under φρύξ, and Corpus Paroemiorum Graecorum (Leutsch & Schneider) III 95. Another proverb 'sero sapiunt Phryges' is explained by Festus (Müller p.343) as a reference to the Trojan war; cf. Cicero Fam. VII 16. At Orator 25 Cicero includes Phrygia, with Caria and Mysia, among areas of least refinement.

3 p.4 4 uultu ferino, trux, hispidus, inlutibarus, spinis et pilis obsitus. In dwelling on the hairy and brutish appearance of Marsyas, Apuleius seems nevertheless to be representing him as a boorish and disgusting human type rather than as a genuine satyr or silenus. Cf. Juvenal II 11-12 hispida membra quidem et durae per brachia saetae / promittunt atrocem animum. In Juvenal IX 1-2 the hero Naevolus, with his dejected and neglected appearance, is compared to a defeated Marsyas. For the connection of a hairy exterior with impiety and a bestial nature, cf. the Apuleian Physiognomonia (Rose p.145) uenter et pectus si nimio capillo circumtecta fuerint, leuem et instabilem hominem produnt; praeterea sine religione sine pietate esse hoc ingenium declaratur.... cum omne corpus contextum est capillo, animum quadrupedis potius quam hominis indicat. inlutibarus: found here only. Kretschmann p.54 and note.

3 p.4 6 cum Apolline certauisse. Apollod. I 4 2, Diod. III 59, Hyginus Fab. 165 etc. For the story as represented in art, see J. Boardman, JHS LXVI (1956) p.18 ff.

3 p.4 6 taeter cum decoro agrestis cum erudito. The characteristics ascribed to Apollo in contrast with Marsyas tend to support the view that Marsyas' challenge in some way symbolises the attack on Apuleius himself by his opponents at his trial. Cf. Apol. 4 audisti ... 'accusatus apud te philosophum formosum et tam Graece quam Latine' - pro nefas - 'disertissimum'. Later in the same chapter Apuleius reports that his accusers had described his hair as 'ad lenocinium decoris promissum', cf. Marsyas' reference to the luxuriance of Apollo's locks below. Though in the Apologia Apuleius protests modestly against imputations of beauty and eloquence in his own case, he makes it plain in Fl. 3 that to lay charges of this kind is the ultimate folly of a boorish nature. Similarly

in Apol. 10 p.12 8 he refers to Aemilianus as 'agrestis quidem semper et barbarus', and accuses him of impiety in Apol. 56.

3 p.4 7 belua cum deo. The satyr is often referred to as θήρ, e.g. Eurip. Cyclops 624, Soph. Ichneutae 215 (Pearson) = 168 (Page). Cf. the Aeolic form ἄρηρ used of Marsyas by Telestes ap. Athen. XIV 7 (616). But belua is here used as a term of reproach = 'a sub-human brute' (as often in Plautus and Cicero). Cf. 'monstri illius' below.

3 p.4 7 Musae cum Minerva ... iudices adstiterere. Of the literary sources, only Zenobius has Athena present at the contest, Cent. IV 81, where it is stated that Apollo wanted to flay Marsyas' brother Babas also, but was deterred by Athena. Elsewhere, Athena's only connection with the story is the earlier episode which Apuleius omits, that she invented but cast away the auloi; Hyginus Fab. 165 adds that a curse was placed on whoever found and used them: unde tibiae abiectae et imprecatae ut quisquis eas sustulisset gravi afficeretur supplicio. Athena is, however, regularly shown as present in artistic representations of the scene, usually standing between the contestants: see J. Boardman, JHS LXXVI p.18. Musae ... iudices adstiterere. The scholia on Plato Rep. 399 e and Minos 318 b both state that the verdict was given by the Muses. According to Diodorus III 59, the contest took place at Nysa and the Nysaeans were judges. In Ovid's version, Metam. VI 362 ff., Marsyas' brothers the Fauni, Olympus and the Nymphs are also present and weep for Marsyas.

3 p.4 8 dissimulamenti gratia. 'As a cover', i.e. to disguise the fact that the contest is a farce and make it look like a proper trial of skill; alternatively, to hide their real purpose, which is to mock and punish Marsyas. Cf. Apol. 87 p.96 18 quae scripserat dissimulamenti causa et deridiculi (of the letter in which Pudentilla had appeared to

acquiesce in the charge brought against Apuleius). 'aissimulamentum' is an Apuleian coinage, cf. Apol. 1 p.1 17 obiectamenta, Apol. 49 p.56 23 concrementa; Fl. 15 p.22 6 exercitamenta. Kretschmann pp.37-38.

3 p.4 9 nec minus ad stoliditatem poenendam. Apuleius represents the outcome as a foregone conclusion, in which the Muses heartily concur, even if they do not personally inflict the punishment. Cf. below p.5 7-10 risere Musae ... reliquerunt. Similarly Athena, though her presence might lend a look of legality to the contest in view of her connections with the court of the Areopagus, is in this case far from impartial. nec minus = 'nec non', 'also', see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.455, and cf. Apul. Metam. I 11 mira ... nec minus saeva; VI 15 sanctissimi nec minus truculenti fontis. stoliditatem: the word is post-classical and appears here only in Apuleius.

3 p.4 10 quod stultitiae maximum specimen. Referring either to the next clause, namely his failure to realise he is being made a mock of, or to the main statement of the sentence, the personal comparison between himself and Apollo, which in Apuleius' account takes precedence over the musical side of the contest, which is barely mentioned.

3 p.4 11 priusquam ... occideret ... prius. For the use of the subjunctive with 'priusquam' with only slight modal force, see S. A. Handford, The Latin Subjunctive p.163. For the pleonasm 'priusquam ... prius', see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.800, who say that 'priusquam ... prius' occurs three times in Plautus (e.g. at Poen. 321), after which it first reappears in Apuleius. Examples of 'antequam ... ante' and other variations combining 'prius' and 'ante' do, however, occur (e.g. Virg. Aen. IV 24-7, Propertius II 25 25 ff.).

3 p.4 12 deliramenta barbare effutiuit. deliramenta: ante- and post-classical. Cf. Apul. 29 where the same word is used of Aemilianus' charges against Apuleius. For 'effutire' of nonsensical or ill-considered speech, cf. Lucretius V 910, Cicero N.D. I 84, Gellius V 1. barbare (like 'barbariam' above) suggests ignorant presumption; cf. Fl. 7 p.9 15 barbare alios insectari audientium contumelia est.

3 p.4 13 laudans sese quod erat ... quod Apollo esset. The use of the indicative in the first quod-clause contrasts with the use of the subjunctive in the parallel clause with 'culpabat'. In the second clause the subjunctive is one of 'alleged reason', normal with verbs of accusing. The indicative in the first clause, representing the reason as simple fact, appears to be used for variety.

3 p.4 12 coma relicinus. 'Mit nach hinten fallenden Locken' (Walde-Hofmann). Cf. Pliny N.H. XXVII 14 erat imago Cn. Pompei e margaritis, illa relicino honore grata, i.e. 'with hair swept back from the forehead'. Apul. Fl. 7 p.9 5 eadem gratia relicinae frontis (of Alexander's portraits and statues). Cf. the uncompounded adjective licinus = ἀνδροπτεξ Corp. Gloss. Lat. II 123 8; Servius and Philargyrius on Virg. G. III 55 licini (sc. boues) qui cornua sursum uersum reflexa habent. Walde-Hofmann I p.798; Furser Herrathena XIV pp.399-400. Furser suggests that relicinus may have been a technical term for artists.

3 p.4 14 barba squalidus et pectore hirsutus. See note on 'uultu ferino' etc. 3 p.4 4 above.

3 p.4 14 arte tibicen. Brakman (Pneumogyne XXVI 1903 p.30) argues that tibicen here is a gloss and out of place among the other adjectives used to describe the contrast between Marsyas and Apollo. He suggests uramodus to balance with 'multiscius' in line 17. Cf. Apul. e Platone II 5

unimodam uirtutem; Prudentius Psychomachia 769 unimodus compagibus (of the soul). If tibicen is retained, it would in the context imply a derogatory reference to the art of the tibicen as such. For Plato's criticisms of the aulos, see Rep. 399 d-e, Phileb. 56 a. Purser (Hermathena XIV p.401) argues that 'tibicen' and 'multiscius' are contrasted as 'real musician' and 'dilettante', but this misses the point that Marsyas is here represented as reversing the true values, and praising himself for virtues that are none.

3 p.4 15 fortuna egenus. The 'virtue' of poverty recalls Socrates and the Cynics. Cf. Evander's advice at Virg. Aen. VIII 364-5 aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum / finge deo, rebusque ueni non asper egenis. Apuleius himself praises poverty at length at Apol. 18 ff.

3 p.4 15 contra Apollinem ... quod Apollo ... Krüger deleted the second mention of Apollo; Helm defends it (Philologus Supplementband IX p.516) as aimed at clarity, comparing Fl. 15 p.22 16 itemque Leodamantem Creophyli discipulum, qui Creophylus memoratur etc. It is true that, when another person has been mentioned, the repetition of a name may be aimed at clarity; in the present instance, however, the repetition of 'Apollo' seems to be more a matter of contrastive emphasis. Helm also suggests that the repetition is colloquial, cf. Hofmann, Lateinische Umgangssprache p.93.

3 p.4 15 Apollinem aduersis uirtutibus culpabat. Apuleius seems to be the first to use culpāre with the ablative of the charge, and only here. He uses the more normal 'in' and the ablative at Apol. 13 me facile patiar in huiusmodi uersibus culpārī cum Platone; cf. Suet. Vesp. 16 sola est, in qua merito culpetur, pecuniae cupiditas.

3 p.4 17 coma intonsus et genis gratus et corpore glabellus. 'intonsus' and its Greek equivalent ἀνείρεκδότης or ἀνερσεκδότης are regular epithets of Apollo, especially in the poets, e.g. Homer Il. IX 39, Pindar Pyth. III 14, Isthm. I 7; Horace Carm. I 21 2, Ovid Trist. III 1 60.

genis gratus: i.e. 'beardless', cf. Cic. N.D. III 83 idemque (sc. Dionysius) Aesculapii Epidauri barbam auream demi iussit, neque enim conuenire barbatum esse filium cum in omnibus fanis pater inberois esset. Cf. Apul. Metam. V 13 where Psyche appeals to Cupid 'per teneras et teretis et mei similis genas'. Emendation is unnecessary, e.g. 'rasus' (Colvius), 'teres' or 'tersus' (Purser). glabellus: diminutive of 'glaber' = 'smooth', first used by Apuleius. Cf. Metam. II 17 where he uses the word of Venus, and V 22, of Cupid. Kretschmann p.66.

3 p.4 17 et arte multiscius et fortuna opulentus. 'Multiscius' is Apuleian; used of Homer, Apol. 31 p.37 4; of Hippas, Fl. 9 p.15 7; of Protagoras, Fl. 18 p.36 3. Cf. Greek πολυμαθής. Apuleius normally uses the word as a compliment. fortuna opulentus: either a reference to the wealth of the Delphic oracle, or an inference from the finery he is wearing.

3 p.4 18 'iam primum' inquit. 'Now in the first place ...' the oratio recta repeats and elaborates the points previously mentioned. The structure of the first sentence is grammatically loose, being virtually a string of nominatives and dependent ablatives. Stylistically, however, there is nothing to justify the adverb 'barbare'; both vocabulary and sound-cadence are characteristically Apuleian.

3 p.4 19 praemulis antils et promulsis carroneis. Apuleius seems to be describing here locks at the side of the head that flow down in front

of the ears, and forelocks that hang over the brow respectively. The glossaries do not make a very clear distinction between antiae and caproneae. Paul. ex Fest. 17 (Müller) antiae muliebres capilli demissi in frontem appellati ex Graeco uidentur; quod enim nos contra, illi ἀντιόν vocant. Corp. Gloss. Lat. V 615 30 antes uel antiae sunt capilli a fronte pendentes. Isid. Orig. XIX 31 8 is clearer about the exact position: antiae sunt cincinni dependentes prope auriculas graeco uocabulo ab auribus. For caproneae, cf. Lucilius 288-9 (Marx) ap. Non. 22 iactari caput atque comas fluitare capronas / altas frontibus inmissas ut mos fuit illis. Nonius explains: capronae dicuntur comae quae ante frontem sunt, quasi pronae. Paul. ex Fest. 42 (Müller) capronae equorum iubae in frontem deuexae dictae quasi capite pronae. Cf. Corp. Gloss. Lat. IV 29 49. praemulsis and promulsis, both found here only, are formed on the analogy of Virgilian remulcens (sc. caudam, Aen. XI 812) 'stroking back', i.e. 'drooping' cf. 'crinibus ... remulsis' at Fl.15 p.20 9. In the new compounds prae- = 'in front of' and pro- = 'forward'. Emendation does not seem to be required (see Helm app. crit.).

3 p.4 19 anteuentuli et propenduli. Both are Apuleian coinages. The MSS read 'anteuentili', which is commonly emended on the basis of letam. IX 30 comae ... anteuentulae contegebant faciem. The verb 'uentilo' had a colloquial variant 'uentulo' (see Ernout-Meillet, Dict. Etym. s.v. uentus), from which -uentulus could perhaps be a back-formation. For propenduli (from the adjective 'pendulus', see note on 2 p.3 1), cf. letam. V 22 (of Cupid's hair) crinum globos ... alios antependulos, alios retropendulos. All three compounds are 'nonce-words' (Kretschmann p.53).

3 p.4 20 lingua fatidica, seu tute oratione seu uersibus malis. The responses of the Pythian oracle, usually in verse, were sometimes in prose even in the classical period; later, prose became regular, Plutarch Pyth. Cr. 17 (402B ff.). For 'oratio' = 'prose' without qualifying 'soluta' or 'libera', cf. Cic. Crator 70 huius ignoratione ... saepissime et in poematis et in oratione peccatur. seu ... malis. For the use of the ideal second person singular and subjunctive without modal force, see S. A. Handford, The Latin Subjunctive p.110. 'seu malis' has here the force of colloquial εἰ δὲ βούλει in Greek.

3 p.5 1 facundia aequipari. The mention of eloquence among the attributes of Apollo is curious, and possibly hard to explain except on the assumption that Apuleius is recalling charges against himself as 'disertissimus' (see note on 3 p.4 6 above). 'aequipar', a late word, appears first, and here only, in Apuleius (Kretschmann p.59).

3 p.5 1 quid quod et ... ovid quod et ... quid quod et. The triple anaphora, each time with 'et' to add a further adornment or accomplishment of Apollo, is sufficiently striking. Cf. Fl. 16 p.29 22 quid quod et Karthaginenses omnes ... decreuerunt locum statuere ...?

3 p.5 1 uestis textu tenuis, tactu mollis, purpura radians. The sound-pattern gives an impression of the softness and delicacy of the fabric. Cf. the description of Hippias' garment at Fl. 9 p.12 9 ff. tunicam interulam tenuissimo textu, triplici licio purpura duplici. The participle 'radians' is the only form of the verb used by Apuleius, and appears twice more in description of the brilliance of the stars, De deo Socr. 2 and De mundo 29.

3 p.5 3 gemmis uariegat. Elsewhere in Apuleius the verb 'uariiegare' is used only as a passive participle: Metam. 11 16 nauem ... picturis miris ... uariegatam; Fl. 16 p.12 12 balteum ... miris coloribus uariegatam.

Hence Heinsius emends uariegat to uariegatur. Kretschmann p.78 points out that the active intransitive form is probably preferred here for the sound-effect of the similar endings fulgurat ... candicat ... uariegat ... cantilat. For Apollo's dress and the ornamentation of his lyre, cf. Ovid's description of Apollo at his contest with Pan, Metam. XI 165 ff. ille caput flauum lauro Parnaside uinctus / uerrat humum Tyrio saturata murice palla / instrictamque fidem gemmis et dentibus Indis / sustinet a laeua.

3 p.5 4 cantilat. 'cantilare', like 'uariegare', is an Apuleian coinage, used again at Fl. 15 p.21 3, Fl. 17 p.32 22, Metam. IV 8. According to Diodorus' account (III 59), Apollo won the contest by unfairly combining his two arts of lyre-playing and singing.

3 p.5 5 nequaquam uirtuti decora. Larsyas criticises Apollo's attractions (blandimenta) on moral grounds, as conducive to luxury rather than virtue. One would think that he had a point here, but Apuleius turns it to ridicule by the self-display of Larsyas which accompanies his strictures: contra corporis sui qualitatem ... ostentare.

3 p.5 6 corporis sui qualitatem. 'qualitas', coined by Cicero as a translation of Greek ποτότης, is common in the philosophical works of Apuleius and, outside them, appears at Metam. VIII 19 perterriti de loci qualitate sciscitare gestiunt (i.e. qualis sit locus). For 'corporis qualitas', cf. Julius Capitolinus Gord.^{6,1} corporis qualitate subcrassulus, and the Apuleian Physiognomonia (Rose p.105) ex qualitate corporis animam speciem mutuari. It is therefore unnecessary to emend, with Brantius, to squalitatem (cf. Furser hermaphrodis XVI p.146).

3 p.5 6 prae se maximam speciem ostentare. 'ostentare' is historic infinitive. As the sentence stands 'prae se ... ostentare' is a pleonastic

variant of 'prae se ferre' (cf. Cic. Att. II 23 3 prae se fert et ostentat), and 'maximam speciem' is in apposition to 'corporis qualitatem': 'as though it was a splendid sight'. The construction has a slight awkwardness, however, and there may be a textual corruption (see Helm app. crit.).

3 p.5 7 risere lusae. Cf. 'ad deridendam scilicet' (p.4 8) and 'ridiculum dictu' (p.4 15). hoc genus crimina sapienti exoptanda. 'hoc genus' and similar phrases (quod genus, omne genus, id genus) occur in early Latin and in Lucretius, Varro, occasionally in Cicero, and are frequent in post-classical authors, e.g. Suet. Claud. 34 de fabrorum atque id genus numero; Gellius I 15 20 hoc genus homines. See Leumann-Hofmann-Ozantyr II p.47 and Böflin, Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie V p.390. crimina here = 'accusations', not 'flagitia' (Oudendorp) or 'méfaits' (Vallette). sapienti exoptanda 'such as a wise man would eagerly desire', cf. 'aduersis uirtutibus' p.4 16 above. 'sapiens' here = 'qui sapit', a man of taste and discernment, rather than 'philosopher'.

3 p.5 9 certamine superatum ... reliquerunt. The contest itself is briefly dismissed, as the mere pretext for the punishment (see note on 'dissimulamenti gratia' p.4 8 above). uelut ursum bipedem. For the contemptuous use of the epithet cf. Juvenal IX 92 alium bipedem sibi quaerit asellum. corio exsecto. J. Boardman, JHS LXVI p.19, points out that, although the story of the flaying was known to Herodotus as a local legend (Herod. VII 26, Xenophon saw the skin at Celaenae, Anab. I 2 8), it is not illustrated in Attic art before the 4th century, although the contest itself had become a popular theme during the 5th. He infers an alternative ending, popularised by the dithyrambic poet Melanippides, according to which Parysias was merely forced to acknowledge the superiority of the lyre and to play it himself. In how and wells'

note on Herod. VII 26 it is suggested that the story of the flaying arose from the identification of Marsyas at Celaenae with a local river-god whose symbol was a water-skin. According to the legend, the river arose either from the blood of Marsyas or the tears of his sympathisers (Ovid Metam. VI 382 ff.).

3 p.5 11 in poenam cecinit et cecidit. For Apuleius' use of 'in' with the accusative in a final sense, see Born in Trans. and Proc. of the American Philological Association IXI (1930) p.xcxi, and McWhitten in Classical Philology XLVI (1951) p.165 ff. Cf. Fl. 6 p.6 19 in mutuum perniciem concertant. McWhitten (loc.cit. p.169) represents 'in poenam' here as used in a different sense with each verb (i.e. 'cadere in poenam' = 'fell upon (met with) his punishment'). It seems more probable, however, that 'cecidit' means simply 'was brought low', implying that he lost both the contest and his life, thus summing up 'in poenam cecinit'. The figure of paronomasia links the two verbs in a surprise effect, but need not mean that the prepositional phrase goes with both or that a pun is intended.

3 p.⁵ 11 enimvero ... puditum est. 'enimvero' is here adverbative, see note at 2 p.2 13 above. puditum est. For the passive form of the verb, normally impersonal in the active, cf. Petron. Sat. 47 4 non est quod illum pudeatur; Apul. Apol. 25 p.29 1, Fl. 9 p.12 20. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.416. See under pluitur et nunguitur, 2 p.2 15 above. Diodorus III 59 reports Apollo's remorse after flaying Marsyas, which caused him to break the strings of his lyre. In Apuleius' version there is no question of repentance, only shame at having matched himself against so unworthy an opponent.

FLORIDA 4

Fl. 4 introduces another famous musician of antiquity, Antigenidas of Thebes. A brief digression on the various musical modes (see Introd. p.40) leads to his complaint about the indiscriminate application of the name tibicen to include the very inferior performers employed at funerals. Apuleius, in apparent mitigation of the complaint, mentions several other instances where similarity of dress or name may link persons of very different status or condition. Ending in this passage with the pallium which clothes both the philosopher and the corpse, Apuleius may have used the lesson to warn his audience against his rivals, the false philosophers, on the lines of Fl. 9 p.11 6 ff. nec tamen uos parua quaedam^{et prava} similitudo falsos animi habeat, quoniam quaedam, ut saepe dixi, palliata mendicabula obambulant. This conclusion is supported by the use made of the same remark, which he attributes to Ismenias of Thebes, by Dio Chrysostom, to underline the difference between genuine and counterfeit philosophers. See note on 'nihil aequae se laborare' etc. 4 p.5 17 below.

4 p.5 13 Antigenidas. The celebrated 4th century aulete who invented a new technique of playing the instrument, referred to by Theophrastus H.P. IV 11 4-5 (see note on 'pluriformi modo' at 3 p.3 11 above). Plutarch de rus. 21 3 (1 or. 1138) refers to his school, and in reg. et imp. apoth. 20 (1 or. 194) reports a saying of Epaminondas which implies that Antigenidas had a high reputation c.370. He is also said to have played before Alexander, Plutarch Alex. Fort. II 2 (1 or. 34-5). The Souda states that he was the aulos of Philoxenus (d.300/79). See Pauly-Wissowa I 2 p.2400, who refer to a collection of source material by Winse, De Antigenida Thebano music (Berlin, 1856).

4 p.5 13 omnis uoculae melleus modulator. 'uocula' = 'note' or 'tone', cf. Cicero De Crat. III 98 quanto molliores sunt et delicatiores in cantu flexiones et falsae uoculae quam certae et seuerae! melleus: post-Augustan and first used in a figurative sense by Apuleius, cf. Metam. VI 6 aues melleis modulis suaue resonantes. modulator: here only in Apuleius. It is used of the singer at Horace Sat. I 3 31; cf. Columella R.R. I Fraef. 3 uocis et cantus modulatore.

4 p.5 14 omnimodis peritus modifactor. The adverb 'omnimodis' is a favourite with Lucretius (= 'in every way'), e.g. I 683, II 489 and 700, III 406, V 718 and 1024. Here in conjunction with 'modifactor', an Apuleian word which appears here only (Kretschmann p.36 ff.), the meaning seems to be 'in every mode'. Emendation to omnis modi (Iuntina Editio II) or omnibus modis (Gudendorp) does not appear to be necessary.

4 p.5 14 seu tu uelles. see note on 'lingua fatidica, seu ... malis' at 3 p.4 20 above.

4 p.5 15 aeolion simplex. From Greek Αἰόλιος. With the neuter we may understand a word such as 'carmen'. Apuleius lists the five simple ethnic names used both of the early Greek modes or ἀπυονίαι and the later τόνοι or 'keys' of Aristoxenus, and assigns a character to each. For the relation between 'mode' and 'key', see R. F. Warrington-Ingram, Mode in Ancient Greek Music p.71 ff. The Aeolian mode is nowhere mentioned by Plato or Aristotle in their treatment of the ethical significance of the modes (Plat. Rep. 398 c ff., Arist. Pol. 1340 a ff.), nor is it included with the other four at Plat. Laches 186 d or at Lucian Harronices I, where a list of characteristics, differing somewhat from those of Apuleius, is given. Athenaeus XIV 19 (625) states on the authority of Heraclides Ponticus that the mode earlier called Aeolian was later regarded as a variety of the Dorian (i.e. Hypodorian), but the

character he assigns to it -- τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὸ προσποίημα τῆς καλοκαγοθείας -- is not really consistent with Apuleius' simplex. One is driven to conjecture that the 'simplicity' of the Aeolian mode is either an inference from its archaic character, or that the style of music which Apuleius knew by that name had, like the Ionian, very little relation to the original mode; see Winnington-Ingram, op.cit. pp.19-20 and p.74 note 2 for the apparently random application of these names to the later 'keys'.

4 p.5 15 Iastium uarium. 'Iastium' (= 'Ionian') is Glareanus' certain emendation of MS asii. Cf. Apul. Metam. 31 puella uarios modulos Iastia concinnente tibia. The Ionian mode had two varieties, the σύντονος and ἀνειμένη or χαλαρά (Pratinas ap. Athen. XIV 19 (624), Plato Rep. 398 e), but the name was sometimes used without qualification of the 'slack' variety (see Winnington-Ingram op.cit. p.25 note 1 and p.27). Again, it is possible that Apuleius derived his epithet from contemporary experience rather than historical knowledge. Lucian describes the mode as 'slooth' (Hermionides τῆς Ἰωνικῆς τὸ γλαρυρόν).

4 p.5 15 Lydium querulum. Cf. Metam. IV 33 et sorus tibiae zygiae mutatur in querulum Lucii modum cantusque laetus hymenaei lugubri finitur ululatu. Fl. 13 p.13 5-6 carmine ... ululae querulo. Plato Rep. 393 e classes two varieties of the Lydian mode, Mixolydian and Syntonolydian, as ἑρηνάοις. The Syntonolydian was later systematized as the Lydian octave species and is referred to under that name by Plutarch De Mus. XV 2 (Mor. 1136); see Winnington-Ingram op.cit. p.29. Plutarch adds that it was 'high-pitched', ὀξεῖα cf. Melestes ap. Athen. XIV 21 (626). Plato's other variety, the 'slack' Lydian (= the later Hypolydian, see Winnington-Ingram p.13 and 24), is perhaps the music differently characterized at Metam. X 32 iam tibiae multiforatiles cantus Lydicos dulciter consonant. Lydium: the MSS have lydia. Helm's suggested spelling Ludium has been adopted by Vallette.

4 p.5 16 seu Phrygium religiosum seu Dorian bellicosum. These two modes are both accepted by Socrates at Plat. Rep. 399 a-c, although all but the Dorian are rejected at Laches 188 b. religiosum: from the use of Phrygian music for religious purposes, especially the worship of Cybele. The 'enthusiastic' character of the mode was generally recognised, e.g. Arist. Pol. 1340 b 5 etc., Plat. Sym. 215 a 5; cf. Lucian Harmonides I τῆς Φρυγίου τὸ ἔνθεον. bellicosum. Cf. Apul. Metam. λ 31 tibicen dorian canebat bellicosum. The martial character of the mode is stressed at Plat. Rep. 399 a and by Plutarch De Mus. λVII (1136-7), although the latter mentions that it was also used by the lyric poets and even for love poetry.

4 p.5 17 in tibicino adprime nobilis. For 'in' with the ablative modifying an adjective in place of the simple ablative, cf. Apul. Metam. II 2 senex iam grauis in annis. Kretschmann p.121 cites other examples, cf. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.126.¹ adprime is common in ante- and post-classical Latin, e.g. Plaut. Cist. 125 adprime nobilis, cf. Ter. Eun. 952; Apul. Apol. 31 adprime peritum; Fl. 15 p.21 5 pulchritudine adprime insignis. Apuleius extends its use from adjectives to verbs, e.g. Fl. 17 p.32 21 si fidibus adprime callerem; = 'praesertim' at De Deo Socr. 20 cur non adprime potuerit Socrati optingere?

4 p.5 17 nilil secus se laborare ... dicebat quam quod ... dicerentur. Cf. Cic. Fam. XVI 4 4 nilil laboro, nisi ut saluus sis. 'nilil' is virtually a direct object with 'laborare' and, by an extension, with the passive 'angi'. 'animo ... et rente': cf. Tac. Germ. 29 5 mente animoque nobiscum agunt. quam quod monumentarii cernulae tirones dicerentur. The same complaint is attributed to Ismenias of Aeneas by Dio Chrysostom, Orat. XLIX 12, in a passage which may throw some light on the trend of Apuleius' argument here: ὁπότῃν δὲ τούτῃ ἐβεβήσω

¹ For 'in' with 'nobilis' = 'in the sphere of-' cf. Cic. De Or. I 46 clari in philosophia et nobiles, Quintil. II 3 3 clarum in arte tibiarum. The simple ablative is used at Quintil. II 6 64 claras arte medicinae.

περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, μηδεὶς με ἡγείσθω πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα
 ἀγορῶντα λέγειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα. οὔτε γὰρ τὸν οἶνον
 ἐκ τοῦ νερέμου κείνουσιν οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες ... οὔτε τὸν
 ἔνδρα τὸν πεπαιδευμένον ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος ... τὸν γὰρ
 Ὀδυσσεά καὶ τὸν Ἴρον οἱ μνηστῆρες συνέβηλον διὰ τὸ
 σχῆμα ὥς οὐδὲν διαφέροντας. ἔφη δέ τις τῶν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον
 φιλοσόφων οὐ φαῦλον, τὸ Ἰσμενίαν τοῦτο μέλιστα ἀγανακτεῖν,
 τὸ κλεῖσθαι αὐλητὰς τοὺς τυμβαίλας, οὐ ποντελῶς ὅμοιον
 ὄν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν. οὐ γὰρ βλάπτουσιν οὐδὲν οἱ τυμβαῦλαι
 τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδ' ἐνοχλοῦσι, τῶν δὲ προσποιουμένων
 φιλοσοφεῖν ἔνιοι καὶ πολλὰ χαλεπὰ ἐργάζονται. Apuleius'
 approach is possibly more subtle, in that he affects to censure Antigenidas'
 annoyance at what is, after all, a very common occurrence; the same name,
 like the same dress, often covers a wide disparity of functions. Another
 remark attributed both to Ismenias and to Antigenidas is that some
 experience of bad playing will make one's pupils more appreciative of
 good playing. Both remarks may be taken as exemplifying the regard for
 artistic integrity rather than the vanity of the speaker.

4 p.5 19 monumentarius ceruulae. Cf. τυμβαῦλαι of the previous note.
monumentarius (from 'monumentum' = 'tomb') is Apuleian, for this and other
 Apuleian adjectives in -arius and -orius, see Kretschmann p.51. ceruula,
 also Apuleian (Kretschmann p.69) is the Greek κεραύλη (Pollux IV 71,
 Lucian tragoedopocra 33) or ἀγνεραύλης (Hesychius ΛΙ 7 s.v.), i.e.
 a performer on the Phrygian type of double aulos of which the left pipe
 had a horn-shaped addition to deepen the sound. These pipes were known
 as ἐλύμοι, see Pearson's note on Sophocles fr. 450 (Lybe); Athenaeus
 IV 78 (176-7) and 84 (185), Pollux IV 74. Cf. Civid etym. IV 392 ad nico
 tibia cornu; etym. IV 161 inflexo berecynthia tibia cornu; etym. ΛΙ 16,

Horace Carm. I 18 13, etc. For the use of this type of tibia at funerals, cf. Statius Theb. VI 120-2 cum signum luctus^{cornu} graue m_uit adunco / tibia, cui teneros suetum producere manis / lege Phrygum maesta. (In the lines which follow Statius mentions that the rites were instituted by Pelops for the burial of Niobe's children; cf. Athenaeus' reference to Sophocles' Niobe for ἐλύμοι above). Boethius De Mus. I 1 quotes Statius' lines as evidence of the ancient practice. Players at funerals may also have been called siticines, a word which Gellius (XX 2) found in a speech of Cato and interpreted, on the authority of Ateius Capito, as 'one who played in the presence of the dead' (apud 'sitos' canere) on a special variety of tuba. To explain τυμβαῦλαι or ceraulae by reference to siticines would be, however, a case of 'obscurum per obscurius'. More convincing is the suggested emendation of Apul. Metam. VIII 26 choraula and De deo Socr. 14 choraularum to ceraula and ceraularum respectively; in both cases the reference is to the worship of Cybele.

4 p.5 19 ferret ... spectauisset ... animaduerneret ... spectaret ... uideret. For the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive in 'unreal' conditions, see S. A. Handford, The Latin Subjunctive p.122 ff. The use of the imperfect here seems to approximate to a past potential (Handford p.125). The pluperfect 'spectauisset' may be used to represent time prior to 'ferret', or possibly to contrast with 'si munera nostra spectaret', which carries the thought down to the present. It would be hard to decide positively, however, whether these tenses represent past or present time, since Apuleius treats both forms of entertainment as contemporary.

4 p.5 20 mimos. For the sustained popularity of the mime under the empire, see H. Bieber, The History of the Greek and Roman Theater p.284. Apuleius refers to the mime twice in the Florida (5 p.6 1, 10 p.34 9) in a way which shows that his audience was familiar with it.

4 p.5 21 paene simili purpura. The costume particularly associated with mime was the 'centunculus' or 'motley' (cf. Apul. Mol. 13 p.15 21), but not all characters would presumably have worn it, e.g. the foppish young lover of the 'adultery-mime' (Ovid Tr. II 497 ff.), see Beare, The Roman Stage p.153. The present passage of the Florida may be taken as evidence that persons of rank and fashion were in fact represented in mime, and were suitably attired, or the point of Apuleius' comparison is lost. Cf. the show described at Apul. Metam. XI 8 nec ille deerat, qui magistratum facibus purpuraque luderet.

4 p.5 21 alios praesidere, alios uanulare. It is virtually certain that the contrast here is not between two classes of mimetic actor, but between the presiding magistrate in his toga praetexta and the actors who have played the parts of important personages on the stage, but are beaten for a bad performance. Lucian apologia 5, speaking of tragic actors, makes a similar point: on the stage an actor is Agamemnon, Creon or even Heracles, but outside his part he is a mere hireling, who may be hissed or even beaten, if the theatre so decides (ἐνὶ ὁδοῖς δὲ καὶ μιστιγούμενοι τινες αὐτῶν, ὥς ἂν τῷ θεάτρῳ δοκῇ). Cf. Lucian Hallus 33. For the liability of actors to such punishment, cf. Plautus Aron. 35, Cist. 705. Cf. Nero's pretended fears of the audience at Olympia (Iuliostratus, Life of Apoll. Euan. V 7). Augustus limited the magistrates' ius uirgarum over actors (Suet. Aug. 45), but it was restored by Tiberius, Ioc. Arn. I 77.

4 p.5 22 munera nostra: i.e. gladiatorial shows. 'nostra' = 'Roman', whereas the mime was also Greek, or = 'of our day', as opposed to the time of Antigenidas.

4 p.5 23 hominem praesidere, hominem depugnare. Florinus (Gudendorp ad loc.) takes this as a reference to the 'lanista' or trainer as opposed to the fighting gladiators. The word 'praesidere', however, together with 'illic quoque', shows that Apuleius is repeating the contrast between the presiding magistrate and (this time) the actual contestants in the arena. The choice of 'hominem' as the common link is surprising, if not incongruous, coming as it does between items of apparel, but it seems intended to stress the very wide divergence of status and role of persons to whom the same name may be correctly applied.

4 p.5 24 togam quoque parari et uoto et funeri. Under the Empire the wearing of the toga was practically confined to ceremonial (formal or official) and religious occasions; cf. Apul. Fl. 9 11 9 praeco ... togatus; Pliny Ep. V 6 45 (on his country estate) nulla necessitas togae; Martial IV 66 3 (of life in a 'municipium') Idibus et raris togula est excussa Kalendis. funeri. Apuleius may be referring to the wearing of the toga by the corpse rather than the mourners, cf. Juvenal Sat. III 171-2 pars magna Italiae est, si uerum admittitis, in qua / nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus. Cf. Martial La 37 8, Livy XXIV 7 3; Kircmann, De funeribus Romanorum I p.76 ff.

4 p.5 25 pallio cadauera operiri et philosophos aricari. Apuleius is here referring to the equivalent Greek custom of using the pallium as a shroud for the dead. Cf. Ietam. III 9 (in Hypata, a Greek town)

abrepto pallio retexi corpora. For the pallium as the distinctive garb of the philosopher, cf. Caecilius ap. Cicero Fusc. III 56, and frequent references in Apuleius (e.g. Fl. 7 p.9 9 and 21, Fl. 9 11 8, Fl. 14 p.18 19 etc.). The apparent progression 'uapulare ... depugnare ... funeri ... cadauera' may be leading by some turn of thought to an attack on his rivals, the pairing of 'cadauera' with 'philosophi' has a somewhat bitter ring, and the inversion of the previous order suggests that this clause is the last in the present sequence.

FLORIDA 5

In subject matter, this fragment shares with Fl. 4 the common theme of the theatre, but distinguishes the purpose and appropriate effect of Apuleius' speeches from those of other performances that take place there: *si philosophus, didiceris*. The topic recurs at the outset of Fl. 18, where we are told that the place chosen reflects the size of the audience rather than the type of entertainment. For Apuleius' assumption of the role of philosopher in his popular speeches, see *Introd. p.32*.

5 p.5 28 quid in theatro deprehendas. 'what you may find in the theatre.' The subjunctive is one of indirect question. The ideal second person singular is substituted for the second person plural, possibly because of its early association with a potential meaning (see Handford, The Latin Subjunctive p.107).

5 p.6 1 riseris ... timueris ... faueris ... didiceris. The ideal second person singular is again used, this time with an aoristic perfect subjunctive in a potential sense. Cf. Tac. Agrie. 3 *ingenia stuciaeque represseris facilius quam reuocaueris*.

5 p.6 1 si mimus est. It is not clear whether 'mimus' refers to the actor or the piece, see note on 'si comoedia est' below. For laughter as the reaction appropriate to mime, cf. Quint. VI 3 29 *distortus uultus gestusque, quae in mimis rideri solent*.

5 p.6 1 si funeris, timueris. funere us (= 'funambulus') is an Apuleian word. Cf. Fl. 18 p.34 9 *funereus periclitatur*. A 'funambulus' was among the counter-attractions which ruined the first production of

Terence's Hecyra (34).

5 p.6 2 si comoedia est. Oudendorp adopts Iodius' comoedus for comoedia here. But comedy is not, like the rope-walker and the philosopher, a one-man show, and the individual actor would be of less importance than in the mime. 'mimus' may, however, refer to the piece as well as the actor, and so balance 'comoedia', if the LS reading is retained. fauers. Oudendorp understands this as a reference to the request for applause ('plaudite') at the end of comedies. Many comedies also contain appeals for goodwill and an attentive hearing in the prologue, e.g. Ter And. 24 fauete, adeste aequo animo et rem cognoscite. Ter. Fec. 47-3 facite ut uostra auctoritas / meae auctoritati fautrix adiutrixque sit.

5 p.6 2 si philosophus, didiceris. The reaction of the audience becomes more sophisticated, as it passes from laughter and thrills to the more reflective appreciation of comedy and, finally, the intellectual exercise of the philosopher's speech. Cf. Fl. 16 p.33 25 tam multos eruditionis amicos. The list of entertainments offered in the theatre is somewhat longer in Fl. 18, and includes tragedy.

FLORIDA 6

In Fl. 6, we have a passage of ethnography, dealing mainly with India, but introduced by a survey of the various Middle Eastern peoples situated between India and the West. What follows can be subsumed under the general heading of 'the marvels of India', which include various products, the river Ganges, the colour of its inhabitants, and the fabulous battle of snakes and elephants. Apuleius then passes to the marvels of man, as opposed to nature, and refers to the Indian social classes, especially the Brahmins or 'gymnosophists'. These recur at Fl. 15 p.21 21 ff., under colour of Pythagoras' reputed visit to them. The common life and supervision of education which is the basis for the story at the end of Fl. 6 clearly has some affinity with the Pythagorean.

Apuleius' main sources for India were probably still the Greek writers who accompanied Alexander (especially Ctesicritus, Nearchus and Aristoboulos), and Megasthenes (c.350-290 B.C.), who was for some time resident at Patna (Palimpothra) on the Ganges. His more accurate picture of the Ganges delta, however, and of the source of cinnamon, suggests that he also had contemporary information. It is not known whether his description of the Indian caste-system could have come more directly from Indian sources.

6 p.63 gens populoze cultoribus et finibus maxima. 'populoculus' first appears in Apuleius, occurring also at Metam. V 6 populosam familiam, Metam. VIII 6 plateas populosas; ibid. 23 ciuitatem populosam: noxiol p.276. On the great size and population of India, see Pliny N.H. VI 50 ff. Strabo quotes the estimate of Ctesicritus that the country formed one third of the inhabited surface of the earth (cf. Pliny ibid. 59).

6 p.6 3 procul a nobis ad orientem siti. The ancients in general believed the tip of India to be the farthest eastern point, being ignorant of its southern projection; see Eratosthenes' map of the East, shown in J. O. Thomson, History of Ancient Geography, p.135. One of its coastlines was thus thought to face east and the other due south, both bordering on the Ocean or Great Sea: Diodorus II 35, Strabo XV I 11, Pliny N.H. VI 33 and 56, Arrian Indica 11 7. Cf. Catull. XI 2 sine in extremos penetrabit Indos / litus ut longe resonante Eoa / tunditur unda. So Herodotus III 106 πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἑσχάτη τῶν οἰκουμένων ἡ Ἰνδική ἐστι.

6 p.6 4 prope oceani reflexus. reflexus appears first in Apuleius; see note on 'repertu nouo commodum oriebatur', 3 p.3 12 above. Lindenberg, followed by Elmenhorst and Scriuerius, emended to refluxus, presumably with reference to the idea, common in antiquity, that Oceanus, which encircles the earth continuously, 'flow^s back upon' itself (cf. Homer Il. XVIII 399 ἀφορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο and Virgil Aen. VII 225 refuso ... Oceano) rather than to the phenomenon of tides (for which cf. Apul. Metam. IV 31 refluui litoris). In my view, the main objection to refluxus, otherwise unattested, is that it could refer to any point whatever of the encircling Ocean and is therefore too imprecise a word to indicate a geographical sector in the East. Purser (Fermathena XVI p.146) interprets reflexus, with similar vagueness, as 'the sweep round north when the ocean reaches the extreme east'. I would explain oceani reflexus as a reference to one of the three points at which, according to the ps.-Aristotelian De Mundo 399 a-b, the Ocean enters the οἰκουμένη to form its inner seas: in the west, the Mediterranean and its adjoining seas; in the east, the Indian and Persian gulfs and the Red Sea; in the north, the Hyrcanian or Caspian sea. Apuleius in

his version (De lundo 6), by what appears to be a confusion, links the Red Sea to the Caspian and so has only two entry points, a western and an eastern: *ab ortu solis Oceanus est Indicum et Persicum mare conferens: hinc patescunt finitima Rubri maris, quae per angustas longinquasque faucis in Hyrcanum et Caspium flectuntur sinus.* It would be the 'inner bends' or 'curving bays' of the Ocean at this eastern point that are indicated here by 'reflexus'. For the inroads of the Ocean into the inhabited earth, cf. Strabo II 3 18, who makes the Arabian and Persian seas come in from the south. Alternatively, 'reflexus' could refer to the sharp bend in the (supposed) Indian coastline where the eastern shore meets the southern, cf. Pliny N.H. VI 56 *quae pars orienti est aduersa, recto praetenditur spatio ad flexum ... deinde quae se flexit in meridiem ...* The only other example of the word, Cassiodorus Var. I 55 *solis reflexus* (i.e. the solstice) does not help to determine its meaning here.

6 p.6 5 priris sideribus, ultimis terris. 'where the stars begin and the land ends': an unusual and extremely poetical antithesis. 'priris sideribus', either because the stars, like the sun, first rise in the east (cf. Virgil Aen. VI 455 *primi sub limina solis et ortus*), or because darkness at sunset, and with it the appearance of the stars, spreads from east to west.

6 p.6 5 Aegyptios eruditos ... odorum ciuites arabas. For Apuleius' fondness for the type of list where a series of names is matched each with a distinctive adjective or other descriptive phrase, see Introd. p.41. Aegyptios eruditos. For the learning of the Egyptians, it is perhaps enough to refer to Diodorus I 46 ff., who gives the names of the various Greeks who were reputed to have learned from them. Cf.

Apul. etam. XI 5 priscaque pollentes doctrina Aegyptiōs. To the list of peoples between India and the West named here by Apuleius, compare the intermediaries on the trading route named by E. H. Warnington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India (Cambridge 1928) p.2 and p.76.

6 p.6 6 Iudaeos supers^titiosos. Cf. Aelian III 7 21 primus Iudaicae superstitionis auctor (sc. Moses), and Plutarch De Superstit. 8 (1 or. 169 c) τῇ δεισιδομονίᾳ δεδεδμένοι (of Jews who had refused to resist a hostile assault on the Sabbath). So Horace Sat. I 5 100 credat Iudaeus Apella, / non ego; Juv^uenal XIV 96-106; Tac. Hist. V 4.

6 p.6 6 Nabathaeos mercatores. The Nabataean Arabs are famous for their capital Petra (Strabo XVI 4 21, Pliny N.H. VI 144), which was linked by a caravan route with Leuce Come in the Arabian Gulf. Their position in the N.W. corner of Arabia enabled them to control the eastern trade. Periplus Maris Erythraei 19-20, and W. H. Schoff ad loc.; Warnington op.cit. p.11, R. O. Fink JRS XXIII 1933 p.122; Boucner, Syria as a Roman Province p.44, Kostovtzeff, Caravan Cities p.64.

6 p.6 7 fluxos uestium Arsacidarum et frug^uum pauperes Ityraeos et oorum diuites arabas. For Apuleius' frequent use of such genitives, see Kretschmann p.127. fluxos uestium: cf. Sil. Ital. Pur. IV 50 fluxam morum gentem (sc. the Gauls). Arsacidarum = Parthians, whose royal name was Arsaces, Strabo XV I 36 (702), cf. Lucan I 108. Lucan VIII 365 ff. speaks of the flowing robes of Eastern peoples as a sign of the enervating effect of their climate; the Parthians, for instance, are brave only where level country gives them ample opportunity for flight. frugum pauperes Ityraeos. The Ityraeans were a predatory Arab people occupying the mountains of the Lebanon, Strabo XVI 2 18 and 20. Strabo ad loc (10)

'those in the plains are farmers'. Their poverty in crops may be an inference from the fact that their chief occupation was brigandage; it provides an antithesis with odorum diuites rabas. For Arabian perfume, cf. Herod. III 107; Pomponius Mela I 10 61 and III 18 79 Arabia ... cinnam et turis aliorumque odorum maxime ferax. Pliny N.H. XII 81 quotes Herodotus' statement (III 97) that the Arabians used to send a yearly payment of 1000 talents of incense to the kings of Persia. It was popularly believed that the whole peninsula, when warmed by the midday sun, gave off a blended aroma of perfume, Pliny ibid. 86, cf. (Tibullus) III 8 18 ff. metit quidquid bene olentibus aruis / cultor odoratae diues Arabs segetis.

6 p.6 8 eorum igitur Indorum ... For the change of case on resumption of the theme after a digression, see Introd. p.40. Indorum ... eboris strues etc. For the double genitive, cf. Fl. 17 p.32 5 ipsius uocis hominis exercendi cassus labor, in explanation of which Walto, Untersuchungen über das lateinische Gerundium und Gerundivum (Helsinki 1949) p.155, cites the present instance.

6 p.6 9 eboris strues. See Periplus 56, Pliny N.H. VI 66, VIII 7, Virgil Georg. I 57 India mittit ebur. A special kind of table resting on ivory 'tusks' or supports is mentioned by Roman writers as a sign of luxury, e.g. Juvenal XI 124, Martial II 43 9, Statius Silv. IV 2 30. The philosopher Seneca is reputed to have had 500 of them (Jio apit. LXI 10 4). For the Roman trade in Indian ivory, see Warmington, op.cit. p.162 and 164.

6 p.6 9 piperis messes. Pliny N.H. VI 105, XII 26 ff.; Periplus 49 and 56. For the importance of pepper in the history of trade between East and West, see Iarn, The Tree in Aethiopia and India 1947; Warmington

op.cit. pp.40, 53 and 160 ff. Schoff on Periplus 56 estimates that pepper constituted three quarters of the average westbound cargo from India. Cf. Persius Sat. V 54-5 *mercibus hinc Italiam rutat sub sole recenti / rugosum piper ...*

6 p.6 9 cinnae merces. Apuleius correctly gives India as the source of supply for the cinnamon trade. The ancients in general appear not to have been well informed on this subject. Herodotus III 110 describes its fabled collection by the Arabians from birds' nests, its country of origin being unknown. Theophrastus H.P. IX 4 2 and 7 2 states that cinnamon is grown in Arabia, but also mentions the opinion that all or most spices come from India (cf. IV 4 14). Pliny N.H. XII 86 states positively that Aethiopia is the country of origin. Strabo IV 1 22 (605) states that cinnamon is grown in all three countries, India, Arabia and Aethiopia, owing to the similarity of their climate. See Schoff on the Periplus p.42 ff., and Warrington op.cit. p.63. Apuleius' phrase 'cinnae merces' (as opposed to 'piperis merces') may conceal a doubt whether cinnamon actually grew in India. For the suggestion that the uncertainty about the exact source of supply reflects the success with which the middlemen in the trade concealed it from the Roman world, see Warrington p.253 ff.; J. I. Miller, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, pp.42 ff and 60 ff.

6 p.6 10 ferri temperacula et argenti metalla et auri fluvia. temperacula (from 'tempero'): Apuleian, found here only; Moziol p.272. For Indian iron, see the Periplus 6 and 36, with Schoff p.172; Warrington op.cit. p.257. metalla here = 'mines'; elsewhere in Apuleius the word is applied to the mineral itself, e.g. etam. I. 19 *excremano metallo* (sc. gold). Pliny N.H. VI 74 and Strabo IV I 30 speak of gold and silver mines in the mountains of India; Strabo quotes the opinion of

Gorgos the engineer of Alexander that Indian mining and smelting processes were not very expert. The ground of India was (erroneously) believed to be rich in gold, silver and other metals, Diodorus II 36; Pliny N.H. VI 80 ventures to disbelieve a report that in certain islands named Caryse and Argyre, the ground is actually composed of these metals. (Pliny places these islands at the mouth of the Indus, they are usually placed on the eastern side, off the Ganges, Isela III 70; Periplus 63; see Thomson, A History of Ancient Geography p.313). auri fluentia: probably with reference to the alluvial gold of the Ganges and its tributaries, but also in the hyperbolical sense that the gold is so plentiful that there are virtually 'streams of gold'; cf. Apul. De iundo 34 flammorum fluentia (of lava streams). Herodotus III 106 refers to the 'abundant gold' in India, some of which is brought down by rivers; cf. Strabo XV 1 57 and 69; Pliny N.H. ⁶⁶ XXIII refers to gold in the Ganges. Tarn op.cit. ^{p.108} says that most Indian gold was imported, cf. Warrington op.cit. p.258.

6 p.6 11 Ganges ... unus omnium amnium maximus. For the use of unus to strengthen a superlative, cf. Cicero usc. III 61 id genus aegritudinis, quod unum est omnium maximum, Lühner-Stegmann II p.477. Arrian Ind. 4 2 quotes Megasthenes as saying that the Ganges is much greater than the Indus, cf. Ind. 10 5, Anab. V 6 7, and Strabo XV 1 13. Strabo XV 1 35 says there is general agreement that the Ganges is the largest of the rivers in all three continents; cf. Arrian Ind. 3 9; Isela III 60 (Ganges amnis) fit omnium maximus.

6 p.6 13 eois regi tor equis. For the adnominal dative, see Leumann-hofmann-Szantyr II . . 5 and Loefstent Syntactica I p.215. cf. Accius ap. Apul. De deo Socr. ²⁴ (Abbeek ² 522) Achylus classicus auctor, / grauis

Dardanis gentibus ultor, / ²Le~~ter~~tyde. Tac. Ann. I 24 rector iuueni,
 II 46 paci firmator; Apul. Apol. 98 magister conuiuii. There are two
 striking parallels for eois regnator aquis. Valerius Flaccus II 620
occiduis regnator montibus Atlans, and (of another river) Ausonius
epigr. 3 Illyricis regnator aquis, tibi, Nile, secundus / Danubius
 laetum profero fonte caput. For regnator applied to a river (the Riber)
 cf. Virgil Aen. VIII 76 corniger hespericum fluuius regnator aquarum.
 For the authorship of these lines, see following note.

6 p.6 13 'eois ... anni'. The source of these three lines is unknown.
 Van der Vliet in his app. crit. refers to Statius Silv. II 4 25 (i.e.
 psittacus ille plagae uiridis regnator Eoae), which Butler p.235 mis-
 takenly takes to be the source of Apuleius' lines. The use of the
 adnominal dative, together with the information about the Ganges delta
 which the lines contain, would indicate a late, probably a contemporary,
 authorship. In general, Apuleius tends to acknowledge the source of
 his verse quotations in the Florida, e.g. 2 p.2 3 (Plautus), 3 p.3 17
 (Virgil), 21 p.42 8 (Lucilius). Of the remainder, unacknowledged, three
 are from Virgil (Fl. 11; 16 p.28 9, 17 p.32 23), with whose works the
 Carthaginian audience were very familiar, and one from Accius (at the
 beginning of Fl. 10, where the acknowledgment may have been lost).
 Elsewhere he acknowledges the quotation without naming the poet, e.g.
 'ille tragicus', 'ille comicus', Fl. 13 p.34 14 and 16, 'poeta egregius',
Fl. 2 p.2 11. It is likely, then, that the author of these three lines
 is either Apuleius himself, or a contemporary poet with whose work his
 audience would be familiar, for instance the Clemens ('eruditissimus et
 suauissimus poetarum'), of whom he speaks in Fl. 7 as an area in a work
 describing the conquests of Alexander. Alexander was (erroneously)
 believed to have reached the canes but not to have crossed it, or learning

of the warlike preparations of the Gandaridae on the other side:

Diodorus II 37 3, Strabo XV I 35, Plut., Vit. Alex. 62, cf. Lucan III 233 hic ubi bellaeus post Aethyos aequora ductor / constitit et magno unci se fassus ab orbe est. See Tarn "Alexander and the Ganges", JHS XLIII 1923 p.93 ff. The lines in Apuleius are not poetically remarkable, except for the resemblance of the three opening words to Ausonius' later epigram (see previous note), and the strongly marked repetition of 'centum', 'centeno'. See note under 'centeno ... anni' below.

6 p.6 13 in flumina centum discurrit, centum ualles illi oraque centum.

Cf. Virgil Georg. IV 292 et diuersa ruens septem discurrit in ora (of the Nile). The description of the Ganges as dividing into a hundred streams, and so having a hundred river-beds ('ualles') and a hundred mouths, must, like the last line, refer to the great delta, which, in spite of his stay at Patna, was unknown to Megasthenes. So Strabo speaks of the Ganges as flowing due east and having a single mouth, XV I 13

πρόεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν ταύτην θάλατταν καὶ μὲν ἐκβολὴν

ποιεῖται. Cf. Pliny N.F. II 243 a Gange anni ostioque eius quo se in Oceanum effundit; VI 72 ab ostio Gangis. Pomponius Mela III 68 gives it seven streams at the mouth; Lucan III 271 speaks of 'ostia'; cf. Arrian Ind. 29 ὥνα τοῦ Γάγγεω αἱ ἐκβολαί. (Arrian is saying that few writers have described this part of India.) Information about the Ganges delta was available to Ptolemy (fl. A.D. 127-48; see Thomson A History of Ancient Geography p.306), but Ptolemy's rejection of the encircling Ocean is not part of Apuleius' world-picture. Probably Apuleius, or the author of these lines, had contemporary information which he grafted into the older view that the Ganges empties itself into the Eastern ocean.

6 p.5 15 centeno iungitur anni. For the singular of the distributive numeral, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.212. Cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 207 centena arbore, Sil. Ital. 1. 490 centeno uerbere (both of oars); Statius Ineb. 1. 797 centena ... voce; Persius Sat. V 6 centeno gutture. The emphatic repetition of centum ... centum ... centum ... centeno suggests a literary conceit, cf. Persius Sat. V 1 ff. uatibus hic mos est, centum sibi poscere uoces, / centum ora et linguas optare in carmina centum -- followed by 'centeno gutture' in 6. For the 'hundred-mouthed streams of a barbarian river', cf. Euripides Bacchae 406 ff., where the reference is to the Nile. The description is certainly better suited to the Ganges, and the repetition of the number might have been intended to give a solemn or prophetic air to these lines.

6 p.6 16 isdem Indis iouder sitis. A back-reference to 'Indi ... ad orientem siti' above. ad nascentem diem ... color noctis. A somewhat fanciful antithesis. Cf. Petronius fr. XII (Buecheler) tinctus colore noctis ... puer. The colour of the Indians, like that of the even darker Aethiopians, was commonly attributed to the effects of the sun; see Strabo 1. 124, Pliny N.H. VI 70. Strabo 1. 13 and Arrian Ind. 6 9 distinguish between the Indians of the south, who resemble the Aethiopians in colour, and those of the north, who resemble the Egyptians.

6 p.6 17 armenti arcones cur armani^{bu} elephantis ... concertant. For the unusual size and strength of the animals in India, see Diodorus II 35; Pliny N.H. VII 41. Indian elephants were (erroneously) believed to be larger than the African (Diodorus ibid. and 42; Pliny N.H. VIII 27 and 32). The remarkable contest between snake and elephant is

described in detail by Pliny N.H.VIII 32 ff. Pliny gives two versions: (a) the snake climbs a tree and drops on the elephant from above, coils round him and, to avoid being dashed against tree or rock, binds the elephant's legs with its tail. (b) The snake waits in a river, and when the elephant comes to drink, coils round his trunk and bites into his ear, draining all his blood. In either case, according to Pliny, the defeat and collapse of the elephant leads to the death of the snake, which is crushed by the elephant's fall (VIII 32 and 34). In Apuleius' account the falling of the elephant is made a deliberate act of revenge, aimed at crushing the snake, since the elephant cannot otherwise escape. Apuleius does not tell us how this manoeuvre results in the death of the elephant (implied in in pari periculo in mutua perniciem), perhaps he assumes on the part of his African audience knowledge of the fact that an elephant would suffocate if kept lying on its side for too long.

6 p.6 19 in mutua perniciem concertant. See note on 'in poenam cecinit et cecidit', 3 p.5 11 above. quippe ... Van der Vliet supplies hi and Brakman qui to fill the S erasure after quippe. The additions are not otherwise required either for grammar or for sense. For 'quippe qui' in the sense of 'quia' in Apuleius, Brakman (in Memorie 1903 p.32) refers to A. 1. 20 pauper enim fis appetendi erestate, diues non egendi satietate, quippe qui inopia desiderio, opulencia fastidio cernuntur. Cf. A. 1. 3 p.3 12 quippe qui sciens innocentem criminatur.

6 p.6 20 incedit. In Apuleius incediscor normally has a concrete object, as at A. 1. 5 quoniam oculus (aprum) incediscimur? A. 1. 5 psyche perterrita nec incedisci iam in ritum uolatiler quiens ... -- whereas ad incedor normally has an abstract object, as at A. 1. 7 p. 5 uir unicum gloriam adeptus, De illo II 20 autem soliam uiuenti rationem. Colvin suggests inlexi, which suits 'lubrico uolumine', but fails to

convey the snake's sudden grasp of its prey. No change in the text is needed. (Cf. Virgil Aen. II 217 (the snakes which attacked Laocoon) corripunt spirisque ligant ingentibus).

6 p.6 20 ut ... necesse sit. ut is Floridus' emendation of the MS et. The reading of the Latino Basiliensis et ... necesse fit has been adopted by Gudendorp.

6 p.6 20 excedere pressum nequeuntibus. Cf. Pliny N.H. VIII 33 gressum primum alligant cauda. pedicas 'shackles'. A human and almost heroic touch is given to this fight of animals by words like pedicas, ultionem, retortores suos. Compare Pliny's explanation of the vendetta, that nature matches these antagonists to make a 'spectaculum' for herself (VIII 34).

6 p.6 23 retentores. One of the many new verbal nouns in -tor introduced by Apuleius. Cf. Fl. 4 p.5 14 modifier; Fl. 9 p.14 3 and 8 antecedent, dilector; Fl. 17 p.31 7 gloriator, p.33 2 oblectator; Fl. 16 p.24 10 optulator. toto corpore oblidere. Cf. Pliny N.H. VIII 32 uictusque congruens complexum elidit pondere.

6 p.6 25 sunt apud illos et varia colentium genera. The Indian caste-system is described by Diodorus II 40 ff., Strabo XV I 39-41 and 46-49, Arrian Ind. 11-12, all of whom give virtually the same account, following Megasthenes. They distinguish 7 classes: (1) philosophers or sophists, who are concerned with matters of religion; (2) farmers, who live on the land and are unmolested even in time of war; (3) herdsmen and snetherds, who are also hunters and have no settled homes; (4) craftsmen and traders (including shipbuilders and sailors), (5) soldiers; (6) overseers; (7) counsellors and administrators (including judges and army-

officers). Pliny N.H. VI 66 has an abbreviated version which omits the overseers (6), and replaces the herdsmen-hunters (3) by a class devoted entirely to hunting and taming the elephant. In what follows Apuleius mentions only 4 classes: cattlemen, merchants, soldiers and gymnosophists (but perhaps implies a fifth by denying agricultural occupations to the gymnosophists, p.7 6 ff.). His omissions are probably to be explained by the fact that his treatment of the subject is selective only. It is, however, a point of some interest that the early form of the caste-system referred to in one of the later Vedic hymns (Ṛurushasūkta or Hymn of Man, Rigveda X 90 12) has a four-fold division consisting of Brāhmana (priest), Rājanya (prince or warrior), Vaishya (commoner), and Shūdra (servant). See G. S. Gurye, Caste and Race in India (Bombay 1969); The Cambridge History of India I (1922) p.92, and the article on 'Caste' in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. Solinus 52 9 (c. A.D. 200) distinguishes 4 classes, namely farmers, soldiers, traders and rulers.

6 p.6 25 asseruerim. See Handford, The Latin Subjunctive p.105-6. genus, qui ... nouere. Construction according to sense. For the infinitive with 'nou', see Kühner-Stegmann II p.547.

6 p.6 25 bubulcare ... bubulcis. Apuleius is probably using the rare verb bubulcare in the general sense of 'tend cattle'. The meaning 'work with oxen' would, however, be suggested by the common use of the noun bubulcus for 'ox-driver' or 'ploughman' (Varro L.L. II praef. 4; Columella L.L. I 9 2, II 2 25, 12 1 ff.), whose duty it also was to care for the oxen (Col. L.L. I 6 c, II 3 1 ff.). Cicero Div. I 57 and Ovid Trist. III 12 30 use the word of a 'waggoner' or driver of a farm cart (pi ustrum). Juvenal XI 151 contrasts 'bubulcus' with 'pestor'. Varro in his De Re Rustica uses the verb, apparently to mean 'grout

like an ox-driver', or 'declaim loudly' (ap. Non. 79 29 *Automedo meus quod apud Plotium rhetorem bubulcitaret*). The deponent form occurs, though not in a very clear sense, at Plautus *Most.* 53 (*Tranio to Grumio*) *decet me amare et te bubulcitarier*. Apuleius' phrase, 'nihil amplius quam bubulcitare nouere', suggests restriction to a particular occupation, but one which might overlap two classes, the agricultural and the pastoral.

6 p.7 1 ideoque ad/co7gnomen illis bubulcis inditum. The MS reading idque adcoognomen has been various^{ly} emended; see Helm app. crit. Rohde in *Rhein. Mus.* XL (1888) p.110 defended the MS reading as 'ein Doppel-compositum', comparing the late verb adcoognoscere. Van der Vliet read idque adgnomen, explaining adcoognomen as corrupted by co being written above ad, and citing in support *Arol.* 56 *igitur adgnomenta ei duo indita*. Leo (in *Archiv für lateinische lexicographie* XII p.99) maintained that idque is unintelligible and that it would be better to read ideoque, indeque, inde adeo or ideoque adeo, but himself proposed adque cognomen. Helm reads ideoque adgnomen, explaining the co of the MS adcoognomen as the displaced eo of ideoque. bubulcis: dative by attraction to illis.

6 p.7 2 mutandis mercibus callidi. 'mutare merces' = engage in trade, whether by buying and selling or by exchange of goods; Virgil *Aecl.* IV 30-9 *nec nautica pinus / mutabit merces*; Horace *Sat.* I 4 29 *hic mutat merces surgente a sole ad eum quo / uespertina tepet regio*; cf. Persius *Sat.* V 54. Apuleius uses 'pretio mutare' in the sense of 'buy' at *Arol.* 29 p.34 9; 'aere mutare' is used by Columella in the sense of 'sell' (*R.R.* VII 9 4, VIII 5 4 etc.). 'callidi', like 'nouere', implies specialisation in a particular field.

6 p.7 3 uel sagittis eminus uel ensibus comminus. For the antithesis see Kretschmann pp.97-6, who compares Ietam. VIII 17 qua potissimum caueremus clade, comminus canum an eminus lapidum. The soldier class, as in Megasthenes' account, consists of specialist fighters; the class of administrators is not mentioned. In the early Indian version, these two classes seem to be merged in the concept of Rājanya (warrior-prince), or Kshatriya (ruler; man of the military caste).

6 p.7 4 gerus ... praestabile, gymnosophistae uocantur. The philosopher class, though smallest in number, is first in honour (Arrian Ind. 11 1, Diod. II 40, Strabo XV I 39). For the parataxis, as well as the name, cf. Fl. 15 p.21 21 Bracmanos -- hi sapientes uiri sunt, Indiae gens est -- eorum ^{ergo} ~~igitur~~ Bracmanum gymnosophistas adisse (sc. Pythagoram). This latter passage suggests that the gymnosophists are a class among the Brahmins, who in their turn (Strabo XV I 59 and 70) are a section of the philosopher class. Arrian's account, on the other hand, identifies the first class with the gymnosophists (Ind. 11). Among other tales about the Brahmins, Strabo reports Cnesicritus' account (ibid., 63) that he was sent by Alexander to converse with these sophists, whom Alexander had heard 'lived naked and practised endurance and were held in the highest honour', Cnesicritus found fifteen of them some way outside the city, standing or sitting or lying, all in different positions, naked and motionless in the hot sun; this they kept up till evening, when they returned to the city. One of these was the famous Calanus, for whom Alexander held funeral games after his voluntary death upon the pyre (Strabo XV I 64, Diodorus XVII 107 etc.). Cf. Cicero unc. V 77 in ea tamen gente primum ei qui sapientes habentur, nudi aetate sunt et Caucasius nives meminerunt uim perferunt sine dolore, cum uel ad flammam se conlucuerunt, sine gemitu aduruntur. Cf. Plut.

Alex. hort. 10 (hor. 312). The gymnosophists are mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (I 6 prologue), who says that they expounded their wisdom in riddles, bade men reverence the gods, do no evil and practise courage; also by Pliny N.H. VII 22, who repeats the tales of their feats of endurance. Plutarch (Vit. Alex. 64) tells a further story of some gymnosophists alleged to have been captured and questioned by Alexander in person. Such tales became part of the Alexander Romance (cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes III 6).

6 p.7 6 - inoculandae arboris. 'inoculare' = 'ingraft with buds', cf. Virgil Georg. II 73 oculos imponere; Pliny N.H. XVII 133 inoculare et inserere; Columella R.R. XI 2 59 his quidem diebus arbores ficorum inoculant, quod genus insitionis emplastris vocatur; cf. Columella Arb. 26 tertium (sc. genus insitionis), cum ipsas gemmas cum exiguo cortice in partem sui delibratam recipit, quam vocant agricolae emplastrionem. The Greek equivalent term ἐνοφθαλμίζειν is used by Theophrastus Caus. Plant. I 9 1 and V 5 4. Apuleius uses inoculare in the sense of 'adorn with bosses' at metam. VI 29 bullisque te multis aureis inoculatum.

6 p.7 7 aruum colere uel aurum colare. 'aurum colare' clearly means to 'strain' or 'filter' the gold found in rivers; Gudendorp's objection, that the word is not appropriate to solids, does not, therefore, apply (cf. Murser Hermathena XVI pp.146-7). Gudendorp's suggestion, uam colare, fits in well with the other agricultural and pastoral pursuits, but the paronomasia would be lost (cf. Brakman in Erasmiosyne XXVI 1908 p.52). The phrase as it stands is thoroughly characteristic of Apuleius.

6 p.7 ⁹ quid igitur est? This kind of question, after a series of negative statements, is used to focus attention on the positive statement which follows, to which the speaker has been leading us. Cf. 101.

53 nemo tibi blandiatur, Aemiliane; non est in accusando uersutia ac ne impudentia quidem, ne tu arbitraris. quid igitur? furor infelix acerbi animi et misera insania crudae senectutis. Cf. the 'quid igitur est' which begins Apol. 67.

6 p.7 10 sapientiam percolunt. In this sense, percolere seems to be confined to Apuleius, 1. 18 p.33 11 uestras disciplinas studiosius percolo; De deo Socratis 22 cumulatam enim habent, quae sedulo percolunt. sapientiam. The 'wisdom' of the gymnosophists with whom Onesicritus conversed is summarised by Strabo XV I 65. Their aim was, by inuring the body to hardship, to free the soul from pleasure and pain and strengthen reason, and so to end strife and act as wise counsellors of all good both in public and in private. The details of his conversation with Calanus and Mandanis (ibid. 64) suggest popular wisdom of the 'gnomic' type, supported by parable and allegory. Compare Plutarch's gymnosophists who gave quick-witted replies to Alexander (Alex. 64). According to Megasthenes (Diodorus II 40, Strabo XV I 39, Arrian Ind. 11), members of the philosopher class were required to make predictions and give advice publicly on matters of common concern, such as droughts and rains, winds and diseases, and on political policy. Arrian speaks as if these predictions were part of their religious expertise; the other accounts assume, in addition, specialised study. The religious doctrines ascribed to the Brahmins by Strabo XV I 59 resemble those of the Pythagoreans, but their explanations of nature are said to show 'simplicity' (εὐήθεια); they use myths and are 'stronger in deeds than in words'. Plutarch Alex. Port. 10 (Port. 22) speaks of them as more sparing than Diogenes, for they do not need even a wallet.

6 p.7 11 tam magistri senes quam discipuli iuniores. 'senes' and 'iuniores' are classifying, 'magistri' and 'discipuli' are in apposition: 'the old as teachers and the young as learners'. Strabo XV I 59 indicates that the life of a Brahmin was supervised from birth (and even before birth); he describes their common life in a grove outside the city, where they lived frugally, abstaining from animal food and listening to serious discourses (ἀκροωμένους λόγων σπουδαίων).

Cf. Gurye op.cit. p.47: 'The functions of the Brahmin may be said to be teaching and officiating at sacrifices, and his aim was to be preeminent in sacred knowledge. To achieve this, a student's life (Brahmacharya) was enjoined.'

6 p.7 12 animi torporem et otium oderunt. There seems to be no parallel for this, or for the tale which follows, in the Greek sources, apart from the strange Indian custom recorded by Hearchus (Strabo XV I 66) of burning any surplus of the year's crop, in order not to encourage idleness. The gymnosophist's emphasis on physical endurance (πόνος) as a means of strengthening the mind might, however, be held to imply a dislike of mental lethargy (Strabo *ibid.* 65).

6 p.7 12 ubi mensae posita ... conveniunt. Ctesicritus (Strabo XV I 34) speaks of a people near the mouth of the Indus who had common meals like the Spartans, but these are clearly not Brahmins. According to one Spartan authority, however, Lysurgus did visit India and the gymnosophists (Plut. Lyc. 5). According to Arrian Ind. II 6 the gymnosophists ate seasonal fruits and the nutritious bark of a certain tree; according to Ctesicritus (Strabo XV I 65) they took what they wished as a gift from the rest of the population, entering also the houses of the rich.

6 p.7 15 quod factum ... bonum fecerint. Cf. Plaut. truc. 555 domus qui facit improba facta amator. Each of the replies given illustrates a different virtuous activity: first, the ending of strife (cf. Strabo XV I 65); second, obedience to parents; third, the discovery of truth. ad illud diem. See note on 'ac ferme id aevi' at 15 p.21 6 below.

6 p.7 20 meditatione sua = 'by his own reflection', a rare use of the word, which normally means 'practice' or 'preparation', cf. pl. 15 p.22 22 primumque apud eum meditatio sapientia futuro linguam omnem coercere.

6 p.7 21 denique ceteri commemorant. The problem here is not the meaning of denique, but whether commemorant needs an object, which would fill the lacuna in the MS after didicisse, or whether the whole phrase should be deleted as 'a weak and superfluous appendage' (Crahan in Memnosyne XXVI 1903 p.32, Müller in Rhein. Mus. LIII p.643). H. Armin (Lenos LVI 1928 pp.30-1) understands commemorant without an object as = 'uerba faciunt'. If the lacuna is to be filled, Leo's sua or van der Vliet's cetera seems preferable to Helm's alia, which goes awkwardly with ceteri. Tollius deleted only commemorant, and Arüger postulated a lacuna after it. It is possible that more of the text has been lost here than has been generally suspected, and that what we have is an early attempt to fill a larger gap.

6 p.8 1 qui nihil habet ad/offerre cur rudent. The infinitive with 'habeo' in the sense of Greek ἔχω is Ciceronian, cf. Att. II 22 6 de re publica nihil habeo ad te scribere. Helm's correction of ad/offerre (cf. offerre) is preferable to the vulgate reading, adofferre, which is otherwise unattested. There is no discernible advantage in (Lucenaorp's offere, or in his habeat for habet.

6 p.8 2 impransus ad opus foras extruditur. The practical lesson implies that the members of this elite, though they do no work in the ordinary sense, earn their bread by the practice of virtue. foras extruditur. Unless 'foras' merely means 'outside the company' (ἐκβέλλεσθαι τῆς συνουσίας, Strabo XV I 59), the meal was to be eaten indoors. This would no doubt seem more natural to Apuleius' audience. impransus, 'fasting', is fairly frequent in Plautus and in Horace.

FLORIDA 7

Following India and the gymnosophists, the topic of Fl. 7 is Alexander the Great, whose achievements Apuleius' friend Clemens has undertaken to celebrate. Apuleius singles out for special mention the edict forbidding anyone save three masters to depict Alexander's person in art, and wishes that there were some such edict barring all but the best from the profession of philosopher. The passage ends with a startlingly violent attack on fake philosophers, which marks it as belonging to the earlier phase of Apuleius' Carthaginian performances, when he found it necessary to silence his critics or rivals (see Introd. p.23).

The eulogy of Alexander with which the passage opens is in marked contrast with the critical and disparaging tone of earlier Latin writers, who tend to present the Peripatetic picture of Alexander as corrupted by his own fortune; the Stoic attitude was even less favourable (see Tarn, Alexander the Great II pp. 69, 131, 297 ff.). Peripatetic hostility to Alexander was aroused by the execution of Callisthenes for alleged conspiracy in Asia, cf. Cicero Tusc. III 21 ut Theophrastus interitum deplorans Callisthenis sodalis sui rebus Alexandri prosperis angitur, itaque dicit Callisthenem incidisse in hominem summa potentia summaque fortuna sed ignarum quem ad modum rebus secundis uti conveniret. Cic. Att. XIII 28 3 quid? tu non uides ipsum illum Aristoteli discipulum, summo ingenio, summa modestia, postea quam rex appellatus sit, superbum, crudelem, immoderatum fuisse? So Livy IX 17-19, discussing whether Alexander would have been able to conquer the West, plays down his achievements and vilifies his character as ruined by success (quarum nemo intolerantior fuit, IX 18 1). Seneca and Lucan illustrate the

Stoic attitude in the violence of their attacks; Lucan X 20 ff., Seneca De Ben. I 13 1, II 16 1, V 6 1, VII 2 5, De Ira III 23 1. Juvenal mentions him with an air of disapproval, X 168-72. Gellius XIII 4 criticises him for the foolish idea that he was the son of Jupiter. Cf. Curtius IV 7 29 fortuna quos uni sibi credere coegit magna ex parte auidos gloriae quam capaces facit. Among more favourable estimates are Diodorus XVII 1 3, 38 5-7, Curtius X 5 26 ff., Plutarch Alex. Fort. (passim), and Arrian Anab. VII 28-30. Plutarch and Arrian, however, tend to adopt a defensive and apologetic tone which is entirely absent in Apuleius.

7 p.8 3 Alexandro illi ... eius igitur Alexandri. For the structure of this sentence, cf. the opening of Fl. 6, and see Introd. p.40. Here the dative Alexandro illi is due to attraction to the case of the relative, 'cui ... cognomentum magno inditum est'; cf. Fl. 9 p.12 16 etiam amulum ... quem ostentabat, ipse eius amuli et orbiculum circulauerat; Fl. 15 p.22 8 quin etiam Pherecydes ... qui ... ausus est ... eum quoque Pythagoras magistratum coluit; Fl. 18 p.36 3 Protagora, qui sophista fuit longe multiscius, eum Protagoran aiunt etc.; Fl. 21 p.41 22 quippe et illis, quibus curriculo confecta uia opus est ... (p.42 13) cohibent cursum. Inverse attraction, but usually without the intervening digression, is frequent in comedy; e.g. Plaut. Amph. 1009 Naucratem quem comenire uolui in rui non erat; Miles 140-3 nam unum conclaue concubinae quod dedit ... in eo conclauis perfodi parietem. Plaut. Capt. 1-2, 110-12, Curc. 419, Poen. 644 Pseud. 718, Rudens 1065-6; cf. Cato ap. Gell. III 7 19 Leonides Laco, qui simile apud Thermopylas fecit, propter eius uirtutes ...; Agg. 64 olea quae diu fuerit in terra ...

inde olei minus fiet et deterius; Or. fr.32 2 agrum quem uir habet tollitur; cf. Virg. Aen. I 573 urbem quam statuo uestra est. See Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.567-8; Koziol p.13, P. Thomas in Mnemosyne XLIX, 1921, p.51 and Bull. de l'acad. roy de Belgique, 1902, p.291 ff.; Helm in Philologus Supplementband IX p.518. Some early attempts were made to remove the anacolouthon in the present passage: Becichemus changed the datives Alexandro ... regi to genitives, and Colvius supplied placuit with Alexandro illi.

7 p.8 3 'longe omnium excellentissimo regi'. For the use of 'longe' to strengthen a superlative, see Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.477. The superlative of 'excellens' seems to be post-classical; Cicero has 'maxime excellens' at Fin. IV 37 uirtus, ^{ut} omnes fatemur, altissimum ^{locum} in homine et maxime excellentem tenet. Cf. Fl. 16 p.27 18 excellentissimus honor.

7 p.8 3 cui ex rebus actis et auctis. 'From his achievements and the extension of his power'. The paronomasia involves taking rebus in a slightly different sense with each verb. cognomentum magno inditum est. Cf. Livy I 49 1 Tarquinio, cui superbo cognomentum facta indiderunt. This variant of 'cognomen' is rare in classical Latin but becomes frequent in Tacitus and Gellius. For the co-existence of the two suffixes cf. 'libamen / libamentum', 'sepimen / sepimentum', where the form in -mentum is the more common (see note on 'sepimine' at 1 p.1 9). magno. For the attraction, see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.420 and cf. 'agnomen illis bubulcis inditum', 6 p.7 1. ^{2/} The epithet 'magnus' is used to distinguish Alexander by Nepos XXI 2 and 3,

Livy IX 16 19, Horace Ep. II 1 232; Athenaeus I 5 (3) refers to him as ὁ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος.

7 p.8 5 unicam gloriam adeptus. The uniqueness of Alexander's achievement is stressed in various ways throughout this opening sentence; cf. 'solus a condito aevo', 'solusque sine aemulo clarus'.

Cf. Diodorus XVII 1 4 περιβόητον ἔσχε τὴν δόξαν καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἰσάζουσιν. Arrian Anab. VII 30 ἡ ἐς τοῦτο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τιμὴ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ μνήμη οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ οὔσα.

Arrian also describes him as 'a man like no other man', but connects this unique character with the idea of his divine birth, of which there is no trace in Apuleius.

7 p.8 6 solus a condito aevo, quantum hominum memoria extat ...

Cf. Diod. XVII 1 3 διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν σύνεσιν τε καὶ ἀνδρείαν ὑπερβάλετο τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων πάντας τοὺς ἐξ αἰῶνος τῇ μνήμῃ παραδεδομένους βασιλεῖς. ... inexuperabili imperio orbis auctus.

Apuleius seems to be using 'inexuperabili' in the sense of 'insurpassable', but there may also be a reminiscence of Alexander's epithet ἀνίκητος (bestowed on him by the priestess at Delphi; Tarn App. 21 p.338 ff.).

imperio orbis auctus: an exaggeration common in the later period; see Tarn p.126, and cf. Juv. X 168 unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis.

(Cf. Diodorus XVII 93 4 τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πυθίαν ἀνίκητον αὐτὸν ὀνομακέναι τὸν δ' Ἀμμωνα συγκεχαρηκέναι τὴν ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς ἐξουσίαν.)

7 p.8 7 fortuna sua maior fuit. There is assumed here a background of debate whether Alexander owed more to 'fortuna' or to 'virtus'. Cf.

Plut. Alex. Fort. II 8 (Mor. 340 C) καὶ γὰρ εἰ διὰ τύχην μέγας γέγονε, μείζων ἐστίν, ὅτι τῇ τύχῃ καλῶς κέχρηται· καὶ ὅσῳ

τις ἀν μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ την τύχην ἐπαινεῖ, τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον
αὔξει τὴν ἀρετὴν, δι' ἣν ἄξιός της τύχης ἐγένετο.

Cf. Curtius X 5 33 fatendum est tamen, cum plurimum uirtuti debuerit,
plus debuisse fortunae, quam solus omnium mortalium in potestate habuit.

Contrast Seneca De Ben. I 13 1 quid enim illi (sc. Herculi) simile
habebat uesanus adulescens, cui pro uirtute erat felix temeritas?

So Lucan calls him 'felix praedo' (X 21).

7 p.8 8 successusque eius amplissimos. eius = fortunae suae. prouocauit
ut strenuus ... ut meritus ... ut melior. prouocauit probably means
'challenge' or 'emulate' rather than 'call forth'. For 'ut' (causal)
without verb, cf. 18 p.36 18 ut condemnatus ... ut pactus; Cicero Tusc. I 15
Epicharmi, acuti nec insulsi hominis, ut Siculi, sententiam; ibid. V 92
at uero Diogenes liberius, ut Cynicus, sc. respondit. Kühner-Stegmann 2 II
p.452. meritus = ἄξιός, cf. Ovid Am. I 10 59 carminibus meritis
celebrare puellas. superauit ut melior. For Alexander's virtues, see
Curtius X 5 26-32, Arrian Anab. VII 28, Plutarch Alex. Fort. I 11 (Mor. 342).
The general conclusion that Alexander was a match, and more than a match,
for his great destiny, is that of Plutarch; cf. Vit. Alex. 58 1 αὐτὸς
δὲ τόλμῃ τὴν τύχην ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀρετῇ
φιλοτιμούμενος οὐδὲν ᾤετο τοῖς θαρροῦσιν ἀνάλωτον οὐδὲ ἐχυρὸν
εἶναι τοῖς ἀτόλμοις.

7 p.8 11 uirtutem uel sperare, fortunam uel optare. The implied antithesis
between 'uirtus' and 'fortuna' has now become explicit. uel is probably
emphasising rather than disjunctive. The Editio Basiliensis II, by
transposing noun and verb, gives uel a disjunctive force (see Helm app. crit.).

7 p.8 12 praeclara edita. edita here seems to be used in the unusual sense of 'commands' or 'proclamations'; cf. Ovid Metam. XI 647 Morpheia, qui peragat Thaumantidos edita, Somnus / eligit. Brantz suggests edicta.

7 p.8 12 fatigaberis admirando. Cf. Plut. Alex. Fort. II 8 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔν τινι ἀπείκοι λέγων, οἷς ἀποδείκνυται κάλλιστα καὶ βασιλικώτατα τὴν ἐξουσίαν διατιθέμενος.

The suggestion is that there is so much to admire, you will be worn out with admiring it. The MS reading fatigaueris has been corrected by a second hand to fatigaberis. For the use of the future indicative rather than the subjunctive with the ideal second person singular, see Handford, The Latin Subjunctive p.110 note 1.

7 p.8 13 uel belli ausa uel domi prouisa. 'belli': locative, usually with 'domi'; here a purely conventional antithesis, unless 'domi' can refer to civil arrangements generally.

7 p.8 14 meus Clemens. Nothing more is known about this poet than can be inferred from the present passage. Apuleius introduces the name in a casual manner which suggests that the audience may have been familiar with his work. See note on Fl. 6 p.6 13 'eois ... amni' for the possibility that Clemens was the author of the three lines on the Ganges quoted by Apuleius. This guess was made by Gatscha, Quaestionum Apuleianarum Capita Tria (Diss. Philol. Vindob. XI 1898 p.143). Apart from the poets who accompanied Alexander to Asia (see Tarn p.55 ff.), the subject of his exploits was not, as far as we know, treated in verse, certainly not by any major poet. For the incompetence of Alexander's poets, cf. Horace Ep. II 1 299 ff., A.P. 357-8.

7 p.8 15 cum primis Alexandri illud praeclarum. The edict which Apuleius admires is mentioned by Pliny N.H. VII 125, but with Lysippus in the place of Polycleitus: idem hic imperator edixit ne quis ipsum alius quam Apelles pingeret, quam Pyrgoteles scalperet, quam Lysippus ex aere duceret. Cf. Horace Ep. II 1 239 ff. edicto uetuit ne quis se praeter Apellen / pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret aera / fortis Alexandri uultum simulantia. Arrian Anab. I 16 4 and Plutarch Vit. Alex. 4 1 both mention Alexander's preference for Lysippus.

7 p.8 17 quo certior posteris proderetur, noluit ... contaminari. The motive ascribed by Apuleius is plausible enough; thus contaminari has the meaning 'spoil' or 'confuse' as well as 'pollute'; cf. the literary application of the word, Ter. And. 16 and Heaut. 17, cf. Gell. II 6 25 cuius significationis multo assiduoque usu totum id uerbum ... contaminatum est. Among other motives ascribed to Alexander are Cicero Fam. V 12 ⁷ neque enim Alexander ille gratiae causa ab Apelle potissimum pingi et a Lysippo fingi uolebat, sed quod illorum artem cum ipsis tum etiam sibi gloria^e fore putabant; Plut. Alex. Fort. II 2: only Lysippus was able to express his ἥθος in the bronze, and render his manly and 'leonine' expression.

7 p.8 18 uniuerso orbi tuo. Again, an exaggeration; cf. 'metu omnium', p.9 1 below. ne quis effigiem regis temere adsimularet. 'temere' = 'without authority'. 'adsimularet': here of the likeness produced, more often of the person or object represented; cf. Tac. Germ. 9 deos ... adsimulare.

7 n.8 19 caelamine: raised work, usually in metal: 'bas relief'. 'caelatura' is normal in this sense ('caelare' = 'engrave', 'carve').

'caelamen' may have been coined by Ovid: Metam. XIII 291 clipei caelamina; Apul. Metam. V 1 parietes omnes argenteo caelamine conteguntur; De deo Socr. 2 suspicientes in hoc perfectissimo mundi, ut ait Ennius, clipeo miris fulgoribus uariata caelamina. See note on 'solus Pyrgoteles caelamine excuderet' p.8 21 below, and cf. 'toreumatis' p.9 3.

7 p.8 20 cum saepe. No satisfactory solution of the MSS quin saepe has been proposed, other than Müller's suggestion to delete the words as an orthographical error. Against Helz's new reading quin saepe <scripsit> (Addenda p.51, cf. his earlier suggestion that 'edixit' might be supplied with 'quin saepe'), the objection can be brought that it breaks the continuity of what appears to be a single edict from edixit universo orbi suo down to uindicaturum. Leo's cum saepe is unsatisfactory in that it removes this clause from the terms of the edict altogether, whereas the next sentence 'praeterquam hos tris ... si quis etc.' shows that it must be part of it. quin has been variously defended, e.g. by Kronenberg (in Mnemosyne LVI 1928 p.47) and G. Thornell (Eranos XXXIII 1934 p.151-2) in the sense of 'contra' or 'sed', but the examples cited give no exact parallel. Scioppius deleted saepe, presumably on the plausible ground that no edict could have contained a provision that certain artists were to depict him 'often'. Thornell changes saepe to semper, which can be understood as merely emphasising solus, and is therefore preferable to saepe. Purser in Hermathena XVI p.148 suggests ut saepe (cf. p.9 7 uti pauci boni artifices ...), noting that at p.9 20 below the MSS have 'ut' where 'quin' might have been read (otherwise 'non' has to be added for the sake of the sense). Purser suggests that 'in some archetype with double columns' 'quin' and

'ut' could have been exchanged. If this explanation seems fanciful, I would suggest that ut saepe, or quin saepe, whichever is preferred, could be a gloss (since these artists did in fact frequently portray Alexander, cf. Pliny N.H. XXXV 93). As Müller saw (Rhein. Mus. XXII 1867 p.463) we are better off without these two words in the text.

7 p.8 20 Polycletus aere duceret. The usual tradition is that Lysippus was Alexander's official sculptor in bronze. (See on 15 and 17 above, 'cum primis Alexandri illud praeclarum' and 'quo certior posteris proderetur'). Pliny N.H. XXXIV 64 mentions that Lysippus' statue of Alexander's friend Hephaestion was attributed by some to Polycleitus, who was in fact nearly a hundred years earlier. It has been conjectured that there was a younger Polycleitus, unknown to Pliny. If so, confusion with his famous namesake might have led to his replacing Lysippus in one tradition. See G. Lippold in Pauly-Wissowa XXI 2 p.1720, and J. Overbeck, Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik I p.405 ff. H. Stuart Jones, Select Passages from Ancient Writers Illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture (London 1895) pp.192-3.

7 p.8 20 Apelles coloribus deliniaret. On Apelles, see Pliny N.H. XXXV 79-97. His famous portrait of Alexander holding a thunderbolt is mentioned by Plutarch Alex. Fort. II 2 (Mor. 335 A) and Vit. Alex. 4 1; cf. Pliny ibid. 92.

7 p.8 21 Pyrgoteles caelamine excuderet. For 'caelamine' see note on 19 above. Apuleius seems here to be saying that Pyrgoteles was a worker in metal (cf. Virg. Aen. VI 847 excudent alii spirantia mollius aera), although Pliny's version of the edict suggests that he was a sculptor in stone or gems (VII 125 ne quis ipsum alius ... quam Pyrgoteles scalporet).

At XXXVII 8 Pliny states that Alexander forbade anyone except Pyrgoteles to sculpt him on the precious stone smaragdus, and refers to him as 'haud dubie clarissimo artis eius'. (Some claim that the head of Alexander in rock-crystal at Milan is by Pyrgoteles). Perhaps Pyrgoteles, like other Greek artists, worked in the embossing of metal also. Cf. C. Seltman, Approach to Greek Art p.37: "The Greek attitude to fine art, it must not be forgotten, was affected by the respect for the celator and the painter. The stone-cutter and marble-carver did not win the same regard, unless he did fine work in metal as well." For the argument that famous sculptors like Pheidias and Polycleitus also embossed metal, see G. M. A. Richter in A.J.A. 1941 p.379 ff., especially p.382. For this "fourth art" of embossing, see A. J. B. Wace, An Approach to Greek Sculpture (Cambridge 1935) p.7.

7 p.8 22 nobilissimos in suis artificiis. See note on 'in tibicinio nobilis' at 4 p.5 17 above.

7 p.8 23 sanctissimae imagini regis manus admolitus. Cf. Plaut. Asin. 570 ubi sacro manus sis admolitus. Apuleius uses the phrase 'manus admoliri' both of the performance of a task (Metam. VI 10 nec Psyche manus admolitur inconditae illi et inextricabili moli) and the doing of an injury (Metam. I 10 deherantes sese neque ei manus admolituros). The idea that the king's image is like a sacred object, to be handled only by those authorised to do so, is probably part of Apuleius' hyperbole rather than a reference to Alexander's deification (Tarn p.347 ff.). It is not clear how far he is correctly representing the terms of any actual decree.

7 p.8 24 in eum ... vindicaturus. 'vindicare' with 'in' and the
only
accusative in the sense of 'punish' is normally used ^{only} as an impersonal

passive. If 'uindicaturum' is retained here, the construction is by analogy with 'animadvertere in' in the same sense, the pronoun 'se' being presumably understood as the subject of the infinitive. Heinsius emends to uindicatum iri (impersonal).

7 p.9 2 ubique imarimum sim<illim>us. The MSS have simus: Floridus emended to similis, Helm and Brackman to simillimus. ubique imarimum is commonly taken as a partitive expression, similar to 'ubique gentium semper annorum' (Fl. 16 fin.). The genitive could, however, be understood as dependent on 'similis' or 'simillimus', if either of these readings is accepted. (It is presumably not impossible to speak of a man being 'like' his own portraits, rather than the other way round). Heinsius' suggestion sui simillimus is supported by P. Thomas (Revue de l'Instruction publique en Belgique LIII 1910 p.146). Pricaeus' suus is virtually unintelligible ('suus' = 'self-possession', 'self-controlled' at Cic. Fin. IV 10, Sen. Ep. 75 18, Ovid Metam. VIII 35). Purser (Hermathena XVI p.148-9) adopts imarinissimus, the reading of a 'codex Bembinus', supported by an MS at Eton College which has ymarinissimus; this he takes to mean 'a perfect likeness', as if Greek εἰκονικὸς were to give a superlative εἰκονικωτάτος. Such a word, however, even if it were a conceivable formation, is applicable only to the work of art, not to the man. My own suggestion would be to read simul for MS simus: 'only Alexander is (present) at the same time in every one of his representations'. Granted that this is a strange expression, it would perhaps be less strange to a Platonist, accustomed to think of the form as present simultaneously in its many copies. The next sentence further elucidates the meaning: *idem uigor ... idem ingenium ... eadem forma ... eadem gratia.*

7 p.9 3 toreumatis. Ablative plural, cf. præmatis, Cic. Off.

III 15 etc. See note on p.8 21 'Pyrgoteles caelamine excuderet'.

The Greek word is regularly used for the concrete products of this art, cf. Cic. Verr. II 52 toreumata sane nota et pretiosa; Sall.

Cat. XX 12 cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt; Martial IV 39 4,

X 87 16 Phidiaci toreuma caeli.

7 p.9 4 idem ingenium maximi honoris: i.e. 'royal'. Of the emendations proposed, Müller's imperatoris for honoris makes an attractive balance with bellatoris. There is, however, insufficient reason to change the text.

7 p.9 4 eadem forma uiridis iuuentae ... Cf. Virg. Aen. V 295

Euryalus forma insignis uiridique iuuenta. ... eadem gratia relicinae frontis. See note on 'coma relicinus', 3 p.4 13 above. Cf. Aelian

V.H. XII 14 (of Alexander) τὴν μὲν γὰρ κόμην ἀνασεύρθαι αὐτῷ (i.e. swept back). Plutarch Vit. Pomp. 2, 2 (of Pompey) ἦν δὲ τις

καὶ ἀναστολὴ τῆς κόμης ἀτρέμα ... ποιοῦσα μᾶλλον λεγομένην ἢ φαινομένην ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὰς 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνας.

Compare also the earlier part of Plutarch's description of Pompey:

ἐν τῷ νεαρῷ καὶ ἀνθοῦντι ^{εὐθὺς} διέφαινεν/ἡ ἀκμὴ τὸ γεραρὸν καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν τοῦ ἥθους.

7 p.9 5 quod utinam. Cf. Cic. Fam. XIV 41 quod utinam mimis uitae

cupidi essemus. Anul. Fl. 18 p.34 25 quod utinam ... oratio suppeteret.

Becker, Studia Aruleiana p.40.

7 p.9 6 pari exemplo philosophiae edictum ualeret. 'pari exemplo', with 'edictum' = 'to the same effect', 'in similar terms', cf. Cic. Fam. IV 4 1 litteras uno exemplo; Suet. Tib. 76 testamentum duplex ... sed eodem exemplo. 'philosophiae' is either genitive with 'edictum' or (possibly) dative of advantage with 'ualeret'.

7 p.9 6 ne qui imaginem eius temere adsimularet. For the use of qui in place of quis as the singular of the indefinite pronoun, cf. Cic. Verr. V 25 ne qui diutius ... talem imperatorem ignorare possit. In the parallel clause p.8 18 above Apuleius has quis (ne quis effigiem regis temere adsimularet). Cf. Fl. 9 p.10 9 si qui igitur ex illis liuidis ... se immiscuit, preceded by (5) si quis forte in hoc pulcherrimo coetu ... sedet. Löfstedt, Syntactica II p.79 ff., considers that this variation between quis and qui is deliberate rather than accidental. On the other hand, L. Callebaut, Sermo Cotidianus dans les Metamorphoses d'Apulée, p.290, thinks that it reflects nothing more than the uncertainty about their use which then existed in contemporary speech; cf. Väänänen, Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions Pompeiennes (Berlin 1959) p.207 ff.

7 p.9 8 idem probe eruditi. Plasberg^{suggested} ~~id~~ est for MS idem (see Helm's Addenda p.51) ~~is now generally accepted.~~ Cf. Fl. 21 p.42 8 where the vulgate reading id est is written as idem in the MSS. P. Thomas, Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique LIII 1910 p.146.

7 p.9 8 omnifariam: "in every way", "on every side": cf. De deo Socr. prol. 3 lapidem ... probe omnifariam complanatum. The adverb is post-classical and rare; cf. Gell. XII 13 20; Apul. Metam. II 20; De deo Socrat. prol. 1. For the etymology of adverbs and adjectives in -fariam,

-farius, see Ernout-Meillet s.v. bifariam and -farius. Walde-Hofmann (pp. 105 and 458) would appear to be mistaken in deriving them from fari.

7 p.9 8 contemplarent ... imitarentur. 'contemplo' is ante- and post-classical. ~~Apuleius has it elsewhere as a passive in a gerundival construction (e.g. De deo Secr. 23 in hominibus contemplandis, cf. Plat. II 26 fin. ad contemplandas uirtutes, De Mundo prol. p.136-25), but~~ ^{Apuleius} normally ~~he~~ uses the deponent form 'contemplor'. It is hard to see why contemplarent is preferred here, except for reasons of symmetry, which would also tend to support Hildebrand's conjecture imitarent for imitarentur. The form 'imitare' is, however, considerably rarer than 'contemplare', except as a past participle, which occasionally has a passive meaning. For the use of a less usual active form in order to preserve symmetry, cf. 3 p.5 3 gemmis uariegat.

7 p.9 9 pallio tenus philosophos imitarentur. Cf. Gellius IX 2 4 (the reply of Herodes Atticus to a beggar claiming to be a philosopher) 'uideo barbam et pallium, philosophum nondum uideo.' Herodes goes on to complain (ibid. 9) 'quod istius modi animalia spurca atque probra nomen usurpant sanctissimum et philosophi appellantur.' Cf. Fl. 9 p.11 8 palliata mendicabula. For the pallium as the distinctive garb of the philosopher, see note on 'pallio cadauera operiri et philosophos amictiri' at 4 p.5 24.

7 p.9 10 disciplinam regalem. The adjective 'regalis' continues the analogy with Alexander, while at the same time claiming a similar supremacy for philosophy -- a position which, in Apuleius' day as in Plato's, was challenged by rhetoric (see Introduction p.33). Apuleius' phrase recalls the idea of the 'philosopher-king', common to Plato, the Cynics and the Stoics. Cf. the discussion of ἡ βασιλικὴ τέχνη

in Plato's Euthydemus 291 d ff. 'regalis' is used in a slightly different sense by Cicero, Rep. II 24 nostri illi etiam tum agrestes uiderunt uirtutem et sapientiam regalem non progeniem quaeri oportere.

7 p.9 10 tam ad bene dicendum quam ad bene uiuendum repertam. The claim that the purpose of philosophy includes 'good speaking' as well as 'good living' is striking and somewhat unusual. It is consistent, however, with Plato's opinion (expressed in the later part of the Phaedrus, 261 a ff.) that an 'art' of rhetoric must be based on philosophy, and with Cicero's view that philosophical training makes an essential contribution to eloquence. Cf. Plat. Phaedrus 266 b 2 τοῦτων δὴ ἔγωγε αὐτός τε ἐραστής, ὃ Φαῖδρε, τῶν διαιρέσεων καὶ συναγωγῶν, ἵνα οἶός τε ὦ λέγειν τε καὶ φρονεῖν. Cic. Orator 12 et fateor me oratorem ... non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex Academiae spatiis extitisse. Cicero frequently deplores the divorce of rhetoric from philosophy, e.g. De Or. III 61 hinc discidium illud extitit quasi linguae atque cordis, absurdum sane et inutile et reprehendendum, ut alii nos sapere, alii dicere docerent.

7 p.9 11 male dicendo et similiter uiuendo. Throughout this sentence, Apuleius uses 'bene' and 'male' in a variety of senses: 'bene dicere' = 'speak eloquently', 'bene uiuere' = 'live virtuously': 'male dicere' = 'abuse', but with the implication that this is a wrong and immoral use of speech; hence 'similiter uiuere'.

7 p.9 12 quod utrumque. The neuter relative with utrumque is the normal construction; cf. Auct. Bell. Alex. I fin. quod utrumque (sc. aquam et pabulam) palus praebere poterat.

7 p.9 14 altera ex aliorum contemptu, altera ex sui <nata>. The MSS have alt twice with u superimposed over t in F. The vulgate reading altera was accepted by Oudendorp, who nevertheless cited examples of neuter pronouns referring to feminine nouns. Brakman in Mnemosyne XXVI p.33 proposes alterum ... alterum ... <natum> in the belief that it would be easy for natum to drop out before nam. The same would probably apply to Helm's nata. The addition of the verb greatly improves the balance of the sentence, though not strictly necessary for the grammar (cf. Tac. Ann. XI 20 metus ex imperatore, contemptio ex barbaris).

7 p.9 15 uilliter semet ipsum colere: 'to equip oneself meanly'. Apuleius has extended the literal meaning of 'uilliter' to correspond with 'uilitas morum' above, and seems similarly to have extended the use of 'colere', in the sense of personal care or adornment of the body, to care of the mind. Alternatively, if 'colere' has the meaning of 'respect' or 'honour', its combination with 'uilliter' becomes an oxymoron: 'to respect oneself vilely' i.e. to lose all self-respect.

7 p.9 16 audientium contumelia est. 'contumelia' is a word which suggests spoken abuse, though here the spoken insult is directed against others, the implied contempt is for the audience. uobis ... uos ... uos. Apuleius now appeals directly to the audience. maledictis optimi cuiusque. The expression is general but the reference clearly includes Apuleius himself. mala et uitiosa uerba: again the ideas of abusive language and incorrect speech are combined (cf. 'barbare alios insectari' above). bonum consulere: 'take in good part': for the phrase, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.71.

7 p.9 ²⁰ 17 rupiconibus. 'rupico', which is found here only, appears to be a variant of 'rupex', formed with -o -onis which gives other pejorative terms such as 'gulo', 'nebulosus', and names of low-class occupations such as 'equisus', 'upilio', 'caupo', 'leno'. See Laumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I p.239. The meaning is usually taken to be 'boor', 'rustic', cf. Gell. XIII 9 5 rupices et agrestes. Ernout-Meillet p.581 give the primary meaning as 'bloc de pierre' (which is unattested). Cf. 'petro' = 'rusticus', Festus 206 23 (Müller); Paul ex Fest. 207 6.

7 p.9 ²⁰ 17 baiolis, tabernariis. 'baiolus' = 'porter', is said by Paul. ex Fest. 135C to be a synonym of 'operarius'; Gellius V 3 1 equates it with Greek ἄχτοφόρος. For the disparaging sense cf. Cic. Par. Stoic. III 23 utrum de bonis est quaerendum, quid baioli atque operarii an quid homines doctissimi senserint? tabernariis; here used as a substantive; cf. Apul. Apol. 87 tam absurdis tamque tabernariis blanditiis. For the derogatory sense cf. Cic. Flacc. 18 opifices et tabernarios atque illam omnem faciem ciuitatum quid est negoti concitare?

7 p.9 20 tam infans est ut ... <non> disertius maledicat. The addition of non (Wower and van der Vliet) is necessary for the sense. Purser supports Fulvius' suggestion of quin to replace ut: see note on p.8 20 'cum saepe'. infans ('speechless') in a rhetorical sense is sometimes opposed to disertus by Cicero, e.g. Brutus 101 quae neque nimis est infans neque perfecte diserta. Here the word would indicate a deficiency of natural eloquence rather than ^{of} acquired skill.

7 p.9 21 si pallium accipere uelit. The implication is that, without the cloak, the sham philosophers would actually be inferior to the boorish types they resemble.

FLORIDA 8

This fragment consists of a couple of sentences referring in complimentary terms to an important consular, about whom the passage tells us nothing except that he is of noble birth and a man of learning. He is present, but not directly addressed; that he is the proconsul, is mere conjecture. But assuming that he may be the proconsul, one might hazard a further very tentative guess that he is Claudius Maximus (procos. 158/9), on whose learning Apuleius relied so heavily in his defence at Sabratha (Apol. 36, 38 etc.), who was certainly a Stoic ('tam austerae sectae', Apol. 19), and probably the tutor and friend of Marcus Aurelius (Med. I 15; I 16 9; see A.S.L. Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius, his Life and his World, Oxford 1951, p.100).

8 p.9 22 plus sibi debet quam dignitati. The MSS have tibi. Colvius' correction sibi seems necessary for the sense. For the antithesis between rank and personal quality, cf. Apol. 103 fin. minus graue ... arbitror a proconsule damnari quam si a tam bono tamque emendato uiro improber.

8 p.9 22 quanquam nec haec illi sit cum aliis promiscua. For 'quanquam' with subjunctive, cf. I p.1 4. rec here = 'ne ... quidem', cf. Metam. VIII 14 tanto facinori nec gladium sufficere. This use is common in late Latin; instances are found in main authors from Livy onwards (see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr p. 449-50, Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p. 44-5; Kretschmann p.113). promiscua: 'common', 'shared indiscriminately'; cf. De deo Socr. 24 quae si non apud omnis certam fidem, ^aet certe penes cunctos notitiam promiscuam possident. Cf. its use in a political context by Livy, e.g. IV 54 8 tendere ad consulum comitia quae nondum promiscua essent.

8 p.9 23 nam ex innumeris hominibus ... pauci eruditi. This sentence is an example of the rhetorical figure of κλίμαξ or gradatio (Demetrius Eloc. 270, Quintilian IX 3 54), in which each successive step repeats something from the previous one. Demetrius and Quintilian both give the famous example from Demosthenes Cor. 179 οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ· οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ· οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ θηβαίους. Aristotle calls this figure ἐποικοδόμησις and attributes it to the Sicilian poet Epicharmus (Arist. Gen. An. 724 a 28, Rhet. 1365 a 16, cf. Epicharmus ap. Athen. II 3 (36): 'from the sacrifice came the feast, from the feast, drinking, ' etc.'. It is clear that the sequence may take different forms, a common type being 'from A, B, from B, C', as in Quintilian's second example: 'Africano uirtutem industria, uirtus gloriam, gloria aemulos comparauit.' Quintilian's third example consists of a series of particular cases leading to a general conclusion (*ibid.* 56): et Calui: 'non ergo magis pecuniarum repetundarum quam maiestatis, neque maiestatis magis quam Plautiae legis, neque Plautiae legis magis quam ambitus, neque ambitus magis quam omnium legum iudicia perierunt.' Apuleius' sequence, on the other hand, consists in the successive narrowing of classes, beginning with the widest ('ex innumeris hominibus, pauci ...'). The same technique is used as a form of argument by the Stoic speaker in Cicero Nat. Deor. II 164, to prove that divine providence extends not only to the human race but also to individuals: 'licet enim contrahere uniuersitatem generis humani eamque gradatim ad pauciores, postremo deducere ad singulos.' Apuleius' 'ladder' is aimed at suggesting that goodness and learning are even rarer qualities than nobility and consular rank; the conclusion, though it does not amount to proof, is impressive, and tends to support his initial statement that the person in question owes more to himself than to his rank.

8 p.9 24 pauci nobiles genere. For the disappearance of the old Republican nobility under the Empire and its replacement by more recently ennobled Italian or provincial families, see M. Hammond, 'Composition of the Senate A.D. 68-235', in JRS XLVII (1957) p. 74 ff.; Lambrechts, La composition du Senat romain de l'accession au trône d'Hadrien à la mort de Commode (117-192), p.214 ff.; M. Gelzer, The Roman Nobility (transl. R. Seager) p.157. Gelzer (loc. cit.) considers it highly doubtful that Apuleius is referring in this passage to a member of the old nobility. The senatorial provinces of Africa and Asia were regularly administered by consulars of patrician rank (Lambrechts, op. cit. p.217).

8 p.10 1 et ex iis <pauci consulares, ex> consularibus. The MSS omit one step in the ladder, which is variously supplied (see Helm, app. crit.). Gronovius' suggestion, which Helm follows, seems satisfactory in that the break in the purely mechanical sequence (et ex eis for ex nobilibus) might ^{re} have led to the omission.

8 p.10 2 et adhuc ... pauci eruditi. adhuc = 'furthermore'. For the evanescence of the temporal sense of 'adhuc' and the development of the meaning 'praeterea', from Seneca onwards, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p. 485; Koziol p. 325. eruditi. Learning is placed last as the highest attribute of all; cf. 16 p.28 3 (of Strabo Aemilianus) inter optimos clarissime, inter clarissimos optime, inter utrosque doctissime.

8 p.10 2 ut loquar de solo honore. The transition is somewhat abrupt; hence Fulvius changes solo to sapientiae, which does not, however, make acceptable sense with the rest of the sentence. Oudendorp's solido, though nearer to the MS reading, does not really improve matters.

8 p.10 3 uestitu uel calceatu. Ablative of respect. For 'calceatus' cf. Pliny N.H. XXVIII 222 iniurias e calceatu, Pliny also uses 'calceamen' and 'calceamentum'. Since it is not clear what particular 'honos' Apuleius is speaking of, it is not easy to interpret the reference here. Senatorial rank carried with it the 'ius lati clauis' (Quintilian XI 3 138-9), the broad purple stripe worn on the tunic; there were also special kinds of toga, worn by the most important magistrates, or on special occasions. Senatorial footwear was distinguished by its high black leather straps (Hor. Sat. I 6 27), and by the crescent-shaped ornament called 'luna' or 'lunula', which may have been worn only by patricians (Juvenal 7 192, with scholiast ad loc.; Isidorus Orig. XIX 34 4; cf. Statius Sily. V 2 27 primaque patricia clausit uestigia luna). There was also a special patrician shoe called 'mulleus', made of red leather and said to have been first worn by the Alban kings (Paul. ex Fest. 142 Müller). Pliny connects the name of the red mullet with this shoe: N.H. IX 65 nomen his Fenestella a colore mulleorum calciamentorum datum putat.

8 p.10 3 non licet insignia eius temere usurpare. Cf. 7 p.9 6 ne qui imaginem eius temere adsimularet. The idea of the unjustified borrowing of external trappings, to which the reality does not correspond, is common to both passages. Fl. 8 ends abruptly here, and one can only guess at the development of Apuleius' thought. Possibly the type of sentence which begins with 'necum' might have followed: 'far less may its duties be exercised without appropriate mental and moral endowment.' Or he might have returned to the thought: 'would that the same were true of philosophy.'

FLORIDA 9

For my argument that Fl. 9 consists of two passages from two different orations, the one an address to the general public, the other a farewell speech to the proconsul Severianus (162/3), see Introd. p.25 ff. In the first passage, Apuleius refers to the detractors whose attacks on him are an easy means of achieving notoriety, and expatiates on the difficulty of living up to his audience's high expectations of him. He warns them against fake philosophers (cf. Fl. 7), and introduces the comparison of the proconsul's court to show that the man who says the most and shouts the loudest is not necessarily the most important. He goes on to compare his large literary output to the articles made by the sophist Hippias. In the next passage (which begins Book II of the Florida), he narrates in detail the story of Hippias' appearance at the Olympic Games, and again compares the versatility of his own literary works to the articles made by Hippias. From this he passes directly to a eulogy of Severianus and his son Honorinus, speaking with confidence and fervour of the former's public services, and identifying his own voice with that of the province.

The first passage, with its reference to Apuleius' detractors and rivals, and the possible reminiscence of his own trial in the reference to the proconsul's court (cf. Fl. 3), may be a year or two earlier than the second, which must be dated at the end of Severianus' proconsulship in A.D. 163.

9 p.10 5 si quis ... in hoc mulcherrimo coetu ... malignus sedet.

Apuleius is careful to distinguish his detractors from the main body of his audience, and to refer to them in such a way as to cast no

discredit on the rest. inuisoribus. The word appears first in Apuleius, who uses it here only. See note on 'retentores' at 6 p.6 23 above. malignis, widely separated from quis, may be predicative: 'sits with malice in his heart'. Cf. Mart. VII 72 12 si quisquam mea dixerit malignus / atro carmina quae madent ueneno. Krüger reads malignis (to agree with inuisoribus).

9 p.10 6 hoc quoque genus inuenitur, cui ... malint. For the plural, cf. Fl. 6 p.6 25; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.438. obtretere ... quam imitari. Brakman (Mnemosyne XXXVI 1908 p.33) compares Plutarch Glor. Ath. 2 (346A) μωμήσεται τις μᾶλλον ἢ μιμήσεται (of the Athenian painter Apollodorus). similitudinem deperent ... adfectent similitatem. Paronomasia and word order point the antithesis. 'desperent' is attracted to the mood of 'adfectent' (generic).

9 p.10 9 suo nomine obscuri ... meo innotescant. suo nomine: 'on their own account'. Müller's alieno for meo is logical but unnecessary. Apuleius begins the statement in general terms, but ends it on a more personal note, cf. 'meis' above.

9 p.10 10 si cui igitur ... se immiscuit. See note on 'ne qui imaginem eius temere adsimularet' at 7 p.9 6 above. For the virtual repetition of the first clause on resuming after the digression, see Introd. p.40, Koziol p.15.

9 p.10 10 liuid/in7is. Helm accepts Fulvius' liuidis for MS libidinis. Cf. Metam. IX 12 homunculi uibicibus liuidis totam cutem denicti, where the MSS again have libidinis. P. Thomas (Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique LIII 1910 p.146) suggests liuidulis, on the basis of Juvenal XI 110 omnia tunc quibus inuideas, si liuidulus sis. Leo

and Kretschmann prefer the otherwise unattested liuidinis, to which Leo compares the Apuleian adjective 'miserinus' (see Helm's Introduction p. XLVIII); Kretschmann cites Apuleian adjectives in -inus formed from nouns. Metam. VII 20 igninus; II 2 aquilinus. Cf. Koziol p. 275.

Whichever reading is adopted, the sense is the same ('envious'), with perhaps a suggestion of the literal meaning in 'uelut quaedam macula'.

9 p.10 14 in auditorio philosophi. ~~The genitive is not found elsewhere~~ ^{For the genitive with 'auditorium'}
~~cf. Pliny Ep. V 17 1, VI 17 1, etc~~
~~with 'auditorium', and must be virtually objective, i.e. depending on~~
~~the verbal idea in the noun.~~ For 'auditorium' in the sense of audience or persons listening, cf. 'splendidissimo hunc auditorio' (line 11 above) and 16 p.23 20; p.25 1; Pliny Ep. IV 7 2 adhibito ingenti auditorio. uisitata. Ante- and post-classical in this sense.

9 p.10 15 reputet cum animo suo. A variation on the common 'secum reputare'. Cf. Sallust Iug. 70 5 reputaret cum animo suo; 85 10 reputate cum animis uestris. quantum periculum conseruandae existimationis hic adeat. The genitive 'conseruandae existimationis' seems odd, but is probably an extension of the use of the genitive in the phrase 'capitis periculum adire' (Cic. Rosc. Am. 110, etc.), indicating 'risk to' rather than 'danger of'. hic ... qui ... non consueuit. For hic in place of is as antecedent to a relative in a general statement, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.181. The indicative consueuit is retained, in spite of its dependence on reputet; see Handford, The Latin Subjunctive p.152. Cf. Juv. 13 20 ff. dicimus autem / hos quoque felices, qui ferre incommoda uitae / nec iactare iugum uita didicere magistra.

9 p.10 17 oppido. See note on 'oppido' under 'quanquam oppido festinem' at 1 p.1 4 above. For Apuleius' use of adverbs such as 'oppido', 'certo', 'certius', 'prorsus', 'admodum', etc. to emphasise a second

adjective that virtually repeats the first, see Koziol pp.60-61. Cf. Metam. VII 2 caecam et prorsus exoculatam; Metam. II 7 felix et certius beatus; De Mundo 27 diuersa uia et plerumque contraria.

9 p.10 18 praesertim mihi. sc. arduum sit uestrae expectationi satisfacere. The expression is not very logical, but the intention is reasonably clear.

9 p.10 18 cui ... nihil /non/ quicquam sinit. The dative cui with sinit is by analogy with verbs of similar meaning that take the dative, e.g. 'permitto'. See Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.88. Löfstedt, Syntactica I p.201, cites two instances both later than Apuleius (Iuuenius II 24 and Hegemonius Acta Archelai 61 p.89 7 (Beeson). nihil/non/ quicquam. Hildebrand's nihilum quicquam is nearer to the MS (see Helm app. crit.), but 'nihilum' is not found elsewhere in Apuleius. nihil quicquam is ante- and post-classical (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.802). Vallette retains nihil non quicquam, which seems barely possible (for pleonasm in negatives see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.803 ff.). Scaliger wrote nihil nequicquam deleting neglegenter. Purser (Herrathena XVII p.15) accepts nequicquam and supplies nec before neglegenter. It might be possible, however, without supplying nec, to understand nequicquam in the sense 'with impunity': 'allows me to utter no careless or offhand word in vain' (i.e. without risk to my reputation). Cf. Plaut. Asin. 698 ne istuc nequiquam dixeris in me tam indignum dictum. sinit. Singular verb with two singular subjects, as often; cf. Cic. Fin. III 72 temeritas ignoratioque uitiosa est.

9 p.10 20 de summo pectore: 'off-hand', 'without thinking'. Cf. Gellius XVII 13 7 non me autem p aeterit dicere aliquid posse de summo

pectore nil esse in his uerbis negotii. hiscere: 'open the mouth', 'speak', in the latter sense mainly poetical, cf. Juv. V 127, Prop. III 3 4.

9 p.10 21 quis enim uestrum mihi unum soloecismum ignouerit? This and the two following sentences are the strongest argument against the idea that Apuleius consciously used vulgar as opposed to literary Latin in his speeches. See Butler and Owen, Introduction to the Apologia p.xlviii ff. Dietrich in Greece and Rome, October 1966 p.191 ff. soloecismum. According to Quintilian, a 'soloecismus' is a fault in grammar affecting more than one word (I 5 34), whereas a 'barbarismus' is an error of form or pronunciation affecting a single word (ibid. 6). For the accusative with 'ignoscere', cf. Plaut. Bacch. 1185 ut eis delicta ignoscas. ignouerit, like donauerit and permiserit below, is of course potential; Handford, The Latin Subjunctive p.97.

9 p.10 22 barbare pronuntiatam: i.e. with an African accent. See Fergus Millar in JRS LVIII 1968 p.127.

9 p.10 23 quasi delirantibus oborientia. Words 'as might rise to the lips of madmen' (Butler). Oudendorp understands delirantibus as referring to the audience, which is surely impossible. The word suggests crazy talk, cf. Lucr. III 454 delirat lingua; V 1158 morbo delirantes. 'oboriri' here seems to be used in the sense of 'occurrere', or as in the phrase 'lacrimis obortis'. The sound effect of this part of the sentence is almost onomatopaeic. blaterare: a colloquialism which is also an archaism, as the word is attested in early Latin verse; e.g. Afranius (Ribbeck com. 13) quid prodest istuc te blaterare atque obloqui? Cf. Hor. Sat. II 7 35 cum magno blateras clamore fugisque (surisque V). Gell. I 15 17; Apul. Metam. X 9.

9 p.11 2 examinatis . . pensiculatis. Cf. De deo Socr. prol. 1 scripta enim pensiculatis et examinatis. Brakman (Mnemosyne XXXVI 1908 p.33) compares Aristoph. Ran. 797 ff. καὶ γὰρ ταλάντῳ μουσικῇ σταθμήσεται κτλ. For 'examinare' ('weigh', 'test'), cf. Cic. De Or. II 159 ad ea probanda quae non aurificis statera sed populari quadam trutina examinantur; Orator 26; Quintilian X 3 5. For 'pensiculare', cf. Gellius XIII 21 11 pensicula utrumque modulareque, and the adverb 'pensiculate', Gellius XVI 3 12.

9 p.11 2 ad limam et lineam certam redigitis. 'Apply a strict test of file and line', i.e. test for smoothness and straightness. Apuleius uses of the audience, as critics, expressions that would be more appropriate to the craftsman. For the metaphorical use of lima, cf. Horace A.P. 291 limae labor et mora; Ovid Ex Ponto I 5 19; Martial X 2 3 nota leges quaedam sed lima rasa recenti. linea is probably a line for measuring horizontally; cf. Cicero Qu. Fr. III 1 2; Vitruvius VII 3 5; Pliny N.H. XIX 147. The word is not normally used in a transferred sense.

9 p.11 3 cum torno et coturno uero comparatis. The tornus, whether it means 'lathe' or 'graving tool', is in either case an instrument for producing rounded shapes (Lucretius IV 361, Pliny N.H. XVI 204, Virgil Ecl. 3 38), and so, metaphorically, neat turns of phrase. The verbs τορνεύω and ἀποτορνεύω are so used in Greek, e.g. Aristoph. Thesm. 53, Plato Phaedrus 234 e 8. Cf. Horace A.P. 441 male tornatos uersus. For the metaphorical use of tornus, cf. the Laus Pisonis 95-6 hinc exornata figuris / aduolat excusso uelox sententia torno; Propertius II 34 43 angusto uersus includere torno (see Camps ad loc.). Apuleius seems to be using tornus, like lima and linea, to indicate exact craftsmanship. 'Compare it (or match it) with the lathe and the buskin' means 'compare it with the exact work of the lathe and the true dignity of

the buskin'. coturno = 'tragic dignity', or in general, seriousness in art; Quint. X 1 68 *cuius gravitas et coturnus et sonus Sophocli videtur esse sublimior*; Pliny N.H. XXXV 111 (on the painting of Nicophares) *cothurnus ei et gravitas artis multum a Zeuxide et Apelle abest*. The paronomasia of 'tornus et coturno' makes it virtually certain that coturno is the true reading. Purser (Hermathena XVI p.150-1) supports Becichemus' circino (= 'a pair of compasses'), citing Vitruvius X 4 1 *ad tornum aut circinum fabricatus* (of a water-wheel). The word has, however, no metaphorical associations, whereas 'coturnus', though admittedly not a tool, is an accepted literary symbol. (It is probably a coincidence that 'coturnus' and 'tornus' are found together in the passage of Propertius referred to above, II 34 41 ff.). uero is Leo's correction of the MS uerum. For other suggestions, which reflect the general misunderstanding of this passage, see Helm app. crit. Van der Vliet's comprobat for comparat similarly gives a wrong sense.

9 p.11 4 tantum habet u/t/ilitas excusationis. Helm's addenda (p.51) corrects a misprint. The vulgate reading uilitas gives the required antithesis with dignitas; others are excused because they can do no better (cf. meritissimo ignoscitis above), whereas more exacting standards are set for Apuleius. But (he says) he would not have it otherwise, in spite of the difficulty of his task. cu n sic existimetis: sc. de me. oun with 'deprecor' is rare; cf. Cat. 44 18 f.; Livy III 58 8; Fronto p.84 16 (Naber).

9 p.11 6 parua quaedam et praua similitudo. Again, paronomasia. For the warning against worthless imitations, cf. Fl. 7 p.9 9ff. uoc... falsos animi habeat ('impose on you'), cf. Ter. Fun. 274 *ut falsus animus!* Sall. Iug. 10 1 *neque ea res falsum me habuit*. For animi, the so-called locative, cf. Fl. 15 v.21 20 *animi expletur*; v.22 20

animi angustior. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.75 notes its extension in Apuleius, by analogy, to corporis, e.g. Metam. V 22 et corporis et animi alioquin infirma. Kühner-Stegmann² II p.446.

9 p.11 8 palliate mendicabula obambulant. 'mendicabulum' is Plautine, cf. Aul. 702-3 nam istos reges ceteros memorare nolo, hominum mendicabula. Koziol p.30. Cf. Amul. Anol. 22 p.26 20 (of the Cynics) quoniam haec tibi ut quaedam mendicabula nimis sordent. Metam. IX 4 circumforaneum mendicabulum producitur. In the present instance Apuleius probably means 'worthless persons' rather than literally 'beggars'. obambulant: 'are on the prowl'; cf. Virg. G. III 538 non lupus insidias explorat ouilia circum / nec gregibus nocturnus obambulat.

9 p.11 8 praeco proconsul(is). The abbreviation in the MS gives no indication of case-ending. Hildebrand reads <ceu> procorsul. et inse tribunal ascendit, et ipse togatus uidetur. In these two respects only the herald and the proconsul are similar: they are both present on the judge's dais and they both wear the toga. For the wearing of the toga on ceremonial or official occasions, cf. note on 'togam quoque parari et uoto et funeri', 4 p.5 24 above. et inse ... et inse. In both cases et has the adverbial force of 'etiam'; see Kühner-Stegmann² II p.8 ff. Cf. Greek καὶ αὐτός.

9 p.11 10 perdiu stat aut ambulet aut plerumque ... clamitat. The first aut is obviously disjunctive, the second less clearly so, and one would have expected ac — unless the author's intention is to make it clear that the herald does not call out while walking about, but stops for this purpose. The alternatives would then in fact be three: standing or walking in silence, or standing to shout. For the duties of court attendant, messenger and 'crier' performed by the praeco,

9 p.11 16 ita provinciae instrumento refertur. 'In this form it is entered in the public records of the province.' instrumento is probably a 'local' dative in place of a preposition with accusative, cf. the phrase 'in tabulas referre', Cic. Sull. 42, Flacc. 20 etc. For 'instrumentum' in this sense, cf. Quintilian XII 8 12 omne litis instrumentum; Suet. Vesp. 8 5 instrumentum imperii; Calig. 8 5 publici instrumenti auctoritas.

9 p.11 17 pro meo captu. 'Corresponding to my capacity': a modest disclaimer of equality with the proconsul. In classical and pre-classical Latin 'captus' occurs only in the phrase 'ut captus est' (with genitive), Ter. Adelph. 480; Caes. B.G. IV 3; Cic. Thuc. II 65. Vel. Pat. II 164, 3 pro capto mediocritatis meae; 'captus' with a preposition is post-classical, cf. Gell. I 9 3 pro aestimato captu sollertiae; Apul. Metam. I 3 supra captum cogitationis; Fl. 15 p.22 20 super captum hominis.

9 p.11 18 quodcumque ad uos protuli, exceptum ilico et lectum est.

For the perfect of repeated action in both clauses, see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.153; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.318. Difficulty is caused in this sentence owing to the doubt whether Apuleius is referring to his speeches or to his literary works in general. If 'quodcumque ad uos protuli' includes written work, it is not clear why Apuleius should wish to recall and revise it, or why he would need to be especially careful in speaking ('quo maior religio dicendi est' below). 'quodcumque ad uos protuli' would most naturally be understood of the spoken word, which is taken down on the spot ('exceptum ilico') and read, so that he cannot thereafter change any of it. This he claims is similar in its own way to the proconsul's verdict, which, once read out, cannot be changed by a single letter, but is entered in the same form in the public records. lectum (read by the general public) is used in a

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slightly different sense from semel lecta above (read out by the proconsul). MS excerptum ('has extracts made of it') is usually emended to exceptum, i.e. (on this interpretation) 'taken down in shorthand', which, though somewhat surprising, would explain the impossibility of later revision. It would also explain why Apuleius has to be especially careful in speaking. But it would leave the transition to his other literary works ('et quidem non in uno genere studiorum') unintelligible as it stands — unless indeed we are to suppose that every one of Apuleius' works first reached his public through some oral medium. See note on 'et quidem non in uno genere studiorum' below.

9 p.11 19 nec autem mutare. autem is Lipsius' correction of MS a me, which Novak deleted. Cf. 'nec autem minui' at 15 above. Purser (Hermathena XIV p.401) prefers Vulcanius' immutare (demutare Brantz). For nec ... nec autem see Kühner-Stegmann²/II p.43.

9 p.11 20 religio dicendi. For 'religio' in matters of style, cf. Cicero Brut. 283 oratio nimis a religione attenuata. For the genitive, cf. such phrases as 'religio uitae' (Cic. Deiot. 16), 'religio officii' (Verr. III 2, Sull. 10).

9 p.11 21 et quidem non in uno genere studiorum. The real break in the sense occurs here, since it is virtually impossible to understand 'religio dicendi' with 'non in uno genere studiorum'. Either we must suppose a lacuna before et quidem, or there must be a stronger punctuation after 'habenda est' and we must return in thought to 'in meis studiis' at 17 above. The sense would then be: 'natio et ipse in meis studiis aliquam pro reo cantu similitudinem ... et quidem non

in uno genere studiorum'. The intervening explanation could be taken as applying primarily to Apuleius' speeches, and to his other compositions only as far as some form of recitation is involved. For et quidem, in confirmation or extension of what precedes, cf. Pliny Ep. IX 23 'nostime, et quidem ex studiis'. The use is common in Silver Latin.

9 p.11 22 in Camenis. The Camenae are usually poetical, but Pyrrhus cites Pliny N.H. praef. 1 nouicium Camenis Quirintium tuorum opus.

9 p.11 22 in officiis opera. The MSS have operibus, which Wower deletes, presumably as a gloss. Vulcanius' deletion of officiis is less plausible. Scioppius suggests, as an alternative to opera, the genitive officis with operibus. officium (an earlier form of 'officium', cf. 'officina') is, apart from this instance, found only in Varro P.R. III 16 20 officii tempus (of bees).

9 p.11 23 quid istud sit: 'what this statement means', referring to the previous sentence. For iste without reference to the second person, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II pp. 183-4. animo attendatis: an unusual variant of 'animum (animos) attendere'. Cf. Pacuvius ap. Non. 238 5 (Ribbeck² trag. 17) cum animo (corr. animum) attendi ad quaerendum quid siet. For the mixture of present subjunctive and future indicative in attendatis ... disputabo, see Handford, The Latin Subjunctive, p.120 note 1.

9 p.11 25. The second book of the Florida begins here. et Winnias. For my argument that et ('also') implies the previous mention of another sophist, and so marks the beginning of a new passage, see Intro. p.26. Wower and Oudendorp avoid the issue by reading is and hic respectively, but these are purely arbitrary changes. The vulgate reading ut does not make sense and may be a misreading of et. sophistarum. Apuleius

has the nominative 'sophista' at Fl. 18 p.36 3, cf. Gell. XVII 53.

Cicero has 'sophistes' at Nat. Deor. I 63.

9 p.11 25 artium multitudine prior omnibus. Cf. Plato Hipp. Min.

368 b 1 πάντως δὲ πλείστας τέχνας πάντων σοφώτατος εἶ ἀνθρώπων.

Apuleius' subsequent treatment shows that he is here referring mainly if not solely to Hippias' mastery of handicrafts. According to Cicero's version, De Or. III 127, Hippias boasted at Olympia 'nihil esse ulla in arte rerum omnium quod ipse nesciret', including 'artes quibus liberales doctrinae atque ingenuae continerentur' (e.g. geometry, music), as well as the crafts displayed. Cf. Quintilian's briefer version (XII 11 21) 'non liberalium modo disciplinarum scientiam prae se tulit' etc. The erudition of Hippias is probably referred to in studia varia (p.12 3). For reasons of his own, Apuleius entirely omits the many compositions in prose and verse which, according to Plato, Hippias also brought with him to Olympia on that famous occasion (Hipp. Min. 368 c 8) πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ποιήματα ἔχων ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἔπη καὶ τραγῳδίας καὶ διθυράμβους, καὶ καταλογάδην πολλοὺς λόγους καὶ παντοδαποὺς συγκειμένους.

Cf. Dio Chrysostom's account, Or. LXXI 2, where Hippias' literary compositions receive brief mention, but the manufactured articles are called 'the first fruits of his wisdom'.

9 p.11 26 eloquentia nulli secundus. Hippias not only taught rhetoric, like the other sophists, but went on many embassies for his native city Elis (Plat. Hipp. Mai. 281 a, cf. Philostr. V.S. I 11 5). At Olympia he offered prepared discourses and extempore answers to questions, and though competing regularly was never beaten (Plat. Hipp. Min. 363 c ff.)

9 p.11 26 setis illi cum Socrate. Hippias was not one of the older sophists but contemporary with Socrates. Cf. Hipp. Mai. 282 e, where Plato makes Hippias say that he was 'much younger' than Protagoras, and Protag. 317 c, where Protagoras says he is considerably older than any of the others present.

9 p.12 1 patria Elis. Plat. Protag. 315 b 8 etc. genus ignoratur. His father's name was Diopieithes, according to the Souoa. Apuleius may be implying that his ancestry was not distinguished. fortuna modica. A surprising statement in view of Hippias' claim at Hipp. Mai. 282 e 7 that he earned more money than any other two sophists put together. But he seems to have made generous presents to his native city (ib. e 5).

9 n.12 2 memoria excellens. Plato Hipp. Min. 368 d and Xenophon Symp. IV 62 both speak of a system of mnemonics invented by Hippias. studia varia. Among subjects in which Hippias was proficient were astronomy, geometry, metrics, harmonics, orthography, literary criticism, genealogy of men and heroes, past settlements of cities and 'archaeology' in general. Hipp. Mai. 285 b ff., Hipp. Min. 368 d. For an estimate of Hippias, see W. K. C. Guthrie, A History of Greek Philosophy III p.280 ff.

9 p.12 4 certamine Olympio. For the ablative, used of games and festivals, cf. Cicero's more elaborate phrase, De Or. III 127 cum Olympiam uenisset maxima illa quinquenniali celebritate ludorum.

9 n.12 4 cultu uisendus ... elaboratu mirandus. 'elaboratu' is an Apuleian neologism, found here only (Roszoi n.269). Gerundives used with a verb of motion ('uenit') may sometimes acquire a sense of

purpose, i.e. as equivalent to future passive participles. I. Odelsterna, De ui futuroali ac finali gerundii et gerundiuī Latini observationes (Uppsala 1926) n.18 f. cites examples that are later than Amuleius and have a clearer reference to the future, e.g. Amm. Marc. XXVIII 1 22 Hymetius ad oppidum ductus ... audiendus ab Ampelio urbi praefecto. In earlier Latin this use is limited to verbs of asking and giving, cf. Apul. Metam. VIII 27 deducendus adsignor. P. Aalto, Untersuchungen über das lateinische Gerundium und Gerundivum p.100. It is on the whole simpler to regard 'uisendus' and 'mirandus' as having their normal adjectival function here.

9 p.12 5 omnia secum quae habebat, nihil eorum /m/emerat, sed ... confecerat. omnia is a case of inverted attraction, which is the more natural as it can be understood, with secum, as part of the relative clause, and as the object of the second main verb. Cf. the corresponding Greek at Hipp. Min. 368 b δ εἶλες περὶ τὸ σῶμα πάντα αὐτοῦ ἔργα ἔχων. Novak's insertion of adtulerat after habebat does not seem to be necessary. See note on Alexandro illi ... at 7 p.8 3 above. emerat is φ's correction of memorat.

9 p.12 6 suis sibi manibus. For sibi strengthening suis, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.94. Here sibi has a syntactical function in the sentence, but is often found without such function, as at Plaut. Cant. 80 cochleae ... suo sibi suco uiuunt. Cf. Col. R.R. XII 7 2 (of herbs) si tantum remiserint humoris ut suo sibi iure ablui possint; Petron. Sat. 66 nanem autonymum de suo sibi; Apul. Fl. 16 n.25 14 in suo sibi lectulo mortuum. Cf. Lindsay, Syntax of Plautus n.41.

9 n.12 6 et indumenta, quibus indutus. 'indumentum' is post-classical; cf. Cell. XVI 19 12 induere permitterent sua sibi omnia indumenta (Arion). Novak supplies erat before indutus, which improves the balance of the three clauses, though not strictly necessary for the grammar, cf. Cicero De Or. III 127 pallium, quo amictus, soccos, quibus indutus esset, sua manu confecisse.

9 n.12 7 calciamenta, quibus erat inductus. Cf. Suet. Aug. 92 si mane sibi calceus perperam ... induceretur. The present instance is an extension of the poetical use whereby the person becomes the subject of the passive verb, often combined with an accusative of part affected, cf. Virg. Aen. VIII 457 tunicaque induitur artus. Helm compares Apul. Metam. II 28 pedes palmeis baxeis inductum; IX 21 soleas ... quibus inductus; XI 8 soccis ebauratis inductus.

9 n.12 8 gestamina, quibus erat conspiciatus. 'gestamina' (poetic and in post-Augustan prose) is used to distinguish the articles which Hippias was carrying (oil-flask and strigil) from those he was wearing; cf. Apul. 22 non sunt quidem ista (sc. vera et baculum) Platonicae sectae gestamina. Metam. XI 0 mulieres candido splendentes amicamine, vario laetantes gestamine. conspiciatus. ~~As for from one other instance in Varro (as, Prisc. p. 792P ut nunc paupertas conspiciatur), 'conspicor' is used only as a deponent, hence attempts to emend conspiciatus here.~~

Neither Becichemus' conspiciatus nor Vulcanius' constitatus carries conviction; Oudendorp's conspiciatus is ingenious but unattested. ^{For 'conspicor'} ~~as passive of Varro ap. Prisc. 792P ut nunc paupertas conspiciatur, Prop. IV 4 34 the whole it seems best to accept either the vulgate reading conspiciatur, or conspiciatus as a passive.~~ Kretschmann p. 80 cites among examples of verbs normally deponent used by Apuleius in a passive sense 'adfatiss' (Metam. X 19), 'deprecato' (ib. XI 25), 'testari' (Apul. 52).

9 p.12 8 indutus ... cinctus. See note on 'quodcunque esui animatum uel lanisatui' at 2 p.3 7 above.

9 p.12 9 tunicam interulam. interulam ('inner') is the vulgate reading for MS interulam. Cf. Martianus Capella IX 888 interulos ... nexus. Apuleius has 'interula' as a noun at Metam. VIII 9 discissaque interula, where it means 'shift' or 'nightdress'. Nougaret in Revue des Etudes Latines VI pp.44-5 suggests that tunicam might be a gloss on the rare and late interulam, used as a noun. Koziol on the other hand (pp. 26 and 154) considers the phrase 'ad corpus tunicam interulam' to be a typical Apuleian pleonasm. Plato uses the diminutive χιτωνίσκος for Hippias' shirt (Hipp. Min. 368 c 4 and 6). Oudendorp suggests that the MS reading interulam (otherwise unattested) might indicate a special weave of different threads, comparing Tibullus II 3 53 uestes tennes, quas femina Coa / texuit, auratas disposuitque uias. But he reads interulam.

9 p.12 9 tenissimo textu, triplici licio, purpura duplici. For the sound pattern of the sentence as a whole, cf. 'uestis textu tenuis ... purpura radians' at 3 p.5 1 above. triplici licio. It is not clear whether this refers to some specially intricate type of weaving (cf. Pliny N.H. VIII 196 plurimis uero liciis texere ... Alexandria instituit), or whether any type of weaving would require three sets of threads, two for the warp and one for the woof. Or perhaps three threads of different colours could be woven together, cf. the 'triplici diuersa colore licia' of Virg. Ecl. VII 74-5. For ancient weaving, see R. J. Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology IV pp.186 ff. purpura duplici, sc. δίραφος. Cf. Horace Carm. II 25 te bis Afro / murice tinctae uestiunt lanae. Ovid Fast. II 107, Pliny N.H. IX 137. The Greek χιτών was normally white or neutral in colour.

9 p.12 ll balteum, quod genus pictura Babylonica miris coloribus
variegatum. Plato Hipp. Min. 368 c 6 τὴν ζώνην ... εἶναι μὲν
οἶαι αἱ Περσικαὶ τῶν πολυτελῶν, ταύτην δὲ αἰτλὺς πλέξαν.
Pliny N.H. VIII¹⁹⁶/colores diuersos picturae intexere Babylon maxime
celebrauit et nomen imposuit. For quod genus see note on 'hoc genus
crimina' under 'risere Musae' at 3 p.5 7 above. Apuleius seems to be
using quod genus here not in the common sense of 'for example' (cf.
Cic. Inv. II 157 quod genus uirtus, scientia, ueritas; ib. 165 quod
genus, fidentiae contrarium est diffidentia), but as virtually equivalent
to 'sicut' (= 'even as' or 'just like'). Lucretius frequently uses it
in this sense in his explanatory comparisons, e.g. IV 270 quod genus
illa foris quae uere transpiciuntur (explaining mirror images; see
Bailey's note ad loc.). Cf. II 194, III 266. At II 276 ff. it is even
followed by 'sic': quod genus in membris nostris ... sic tibi nominis
haec expers uis etc. variegatum would then agree with balteum and
the sense would be: 'balteum, quod genus pictura Babylonica (sc.
variegata est), miris coloribus variegatum. An alternative would be
to take quod genus as = 'id genus quod', variegatum as agreeing with
genus and pictura Babylonica as ablative: 'balteum id genus, quod
pictura Babylonica miris coloribus variegatum est.' The double use of
the ablative is perhaps against this interpretation, but cf. Metap. XI
16 nauem ... picturis miris Aegyptiorum circumsecus variegatam.

9 p.12 12 nec in hac eum opera cuiusquam adiunxerat. Not only proof of
his skill, but a hint of its purpose, cf. Quintil XII 11 21 ita se
praeparauit, ne cuius alterius opere egeret. Cf. the Souia τέλος
ὁρίζετο τὴν αὐτάρχειαν.

9 p.12 14 id quoque pallium co(m)perior/is ipsius laborem fuisse. The MSS have copertoris. Helm follows Goldbacher in reading comperior. This deponent form of 'comperio' is comparatively rare but found at Ter. And. 902, Sall. Iug. 45 1 and 108 3, Tac. Ann. IV 20, Gell. III 3 1, in the sense 'I find', either of reliably ascertained fact or well-informed judgment. Apuleius has 'ut comperior' in this sense at Apol. 8 p.9 20 and Fl. 16 p.28 23; cf. Apol. 37 p.42 23 ibi ego comperior, omnes iudices tanto poetae adsurrexisse; Metam. II 21 quid hoc, inquam, comperior? XI 27 init. nouum mirumque plane comperior. For rival suggestions derived from 'comperio' (which Apuleius also uses, e.g. 15 p.21 10), see Helm's apparatus criticus. Müller (Rhein. Mus. XXII p. 646-7) argues that following ipsius indicates that the corruption conceals a noun, to which -is belongs; he suggests scio oratoris. Purser's comperiunt reperitoris (Hermathena XIV p. 401-2) is nearer to the MS but the sense is not clear. Brakman conjectures comperior rhetoris. The addition of these nouns does little for the sense, however, and it is probably best to follow Helm and Vallette in reading comperior. For the repetition 'pallium ... id quoque pallium', cf. 11 p.16 17 flores ... ut eos flores; 15 p.19 20 fanum ... id fanum.

9 p.12 15 crepidas. 'crepida' = Greek κρηπίς (Latin 'solea'). Quintilian XII 11 21 also has 'crepidas'. Cicero has 'soccos' (De Or. III 127), Plato ὑποδήματα (Hipp. Min. 368 c).

9 p.12 16 anulum ... quem ostentabat, ipse eius anuli. For the inverse attraction, see note on 'Alexandro illi ... eius igitur Alexandri' at 7 p.8 3 above. faberrimo signaculo. The superlative faberrimo is Apuleian (Koziol p.305), cf. the adverb 'faberrime' at 15 p.21 10 and

Metam. II 4. signaculum ('signare') is 'an instrument for sealing', i.e. a seal, formed on the analogy of other nouns in -culum, e.g. 'poculum', 'ferculum', 'uehiculum'. The word is not found elsewhere in this sense in a literary author.

9 p.12 17 orbiculum circulauerat. 'circulare' is an Apuleian coinage; cf. Apol. 89 circulare digitos (in counting). 'orbiculus' is here used of the hoop of the ring: cf. Ovid's use of 'orbis' at Am. II 15 6 et digitum iusto commodus orbe teras. With circulauerat, orbiculum is the so-called 'effected' object (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.30), e.g. 'puteum fodere' (Plautus, Caesar) or 'fossam fodere' (Livy), as opposed to 'arua fodere' (Ovid).

9 p.12 18 et palam clauserat et gemmam insculpserat. For 'pala' ('bezel') = 'funda', cf. Philargyrius on Virgil Georg. III 53 et ea pars anuli quae gemmam cohibet, propter similitudinem pala dicitur. Cicero Off. III 38 cum palam eius anuli ad palmam conuerterat. The verbs 'claudere' and 'includere' are normally used of setting the stone: Pliny N.H. XXXIII 23 quasdam uero (gemmas) neque ab ea parte quae digito occultatur auro clusit; XXXVII 116 funda cluduntur (smaragdi); ibid. 126 funda includuntur. Apuleius uses palam rather than gemmam as the object of clauserat in order to reserve gemmam for insculpserat. 'insculpere' does not ^{normally} ~~elsewhere~~ take the accusative of the surface engraved, which is used here on the analogy of the uncompounded verb 'sculpere' (or 'scalpere'); cf. Pliny N.H. XXXVII 177 huic tanta duritia inest ut fragmentis eius aliae gemmae scalpantur, XXXVI 15 scalpsisse marmora. Cf. Plato's term δακτυλίου γλύφειν (Hipp. Min. 368 c). In Plato's account there are either two rings, the second a seal-ring, or a seal besides the ring (καὶ ἄλλην σφραγίδα σὸν ἔργον), which is not mentioned in the Latin versions. A seal-stone is presumably worked on the opposite principle to a stone

not intended as a seal, i.e. the design is indented not raised; the use of 'insculpere' with accusative perhaps marks this difference.

9 p.12 19 omnia eius; sc. opera. enim non nescit. Initial enim (cf. Plaut. Anl. 500, Ter. Phorm. 983) is avoided in classical Latin and given as a solecism by Quintilian I 5 39. Apuleius revives its use (e.g. at Metam. IV 8, IV 22). See O. Hey in Archiv f. d. Lat. Lexic. XIV p.270 ff.; Kühner-Stegmann² II p.120; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.507 ff. Helm interprets the force of 'enim' here as adversative; see note on 'enimvero' 9 p.11 11 above. illum non puduit est. See note on 'Apollinem puduit est' at 3 p.6 11 above.

9 p.13 1 fabricatum. From deponent 'fabricor', cf. Anol. 63 (p.71 11), De Mundo 4. Apuleius also uses the active form 'fabrico' at Metam. III 12 and 'fabricatus' as a passive at Anol. 63 (p.70 27). annulam ... strigileculam. These two toilet articles are often mentioned together, e.g. Plaut. Stich. 230, Pers. 124, Cíc. Fin. IV 30, Plut. Mor. 59F.

9 p.13 2 lenticulari forma. 'lenticulari' is found here only. 'lenticula', = a 'lentil-shaped oil flask', is found at Celsus II 17 9 vasa fictilia quae a similitudine lenticulas uocant; Isod. Orig. XX 7 4 lenticula vasculum olearium, ex aere aut argento factum. Cf. Pliny N.H. XXXVII 196 figura ... quae uocatur lenticula.

9 p.13 3 terati ambitu, pressula rotunditate. ambitu, either generally, 'outline' (Butler), or more specifically of the smooth 'rim' or 'mouth' of the flask. 'ambitus' is used of the rim of a volcanic crater at De Mundo 17; of the border of a shield at Pliny N.H. XXXVI 1. pressula. Butler translates 'flattened', but the meaning is more likely to be 'compact' or 'careful'; cf. the adjective 'pressus' (of style), 'concise', 'plain', or 'exact', 'accurate'. Anol. Metam. V 5 pressiore cautela;

V 10 cogitationibus pressioribus instructae. The diminutive pressula is Amuleian; he has the adverb 'pressule' meaning 'very closely' at Metam. IV 2, ³¹ X 21, X 31. For the intensifying force of the diminutive, see note on 'diutule' at 2 p.1 15 above.

9 p.13 4 strigileculam. Apart from this instance, the diminutive form is found only in the late Philoxenus glossary, Greek στλεγγίδιον, cf. I.G. XI 2 2873 17. recta fastigatione cymulae, flexa tubulatione lioulae: 'with straight tapering of the handle and curved grooving of the blade', i.e. with a straight tapering handle and a curved grooved blade. The blade of a strigil was curved but the handle might be either curved or straight; Th. Schreiber, Classical Antiquities (Macmillan 1895) plate LXXX IX fig. 8 shows a flask and strigil with a straight tapering handle. fastigatione. The word occurs at Pliny N.H. XVII 106 fastigatio leui descendat cuneo (of slips to be pointed for crafting). tubulatione, which balances it, is an Amuleian coinage (Kozioł p.272 f.). cymulae is Helm's conjecture for the corrupt cylaulae F or cymaule φ, see Helm ann. crit. cymula is found in a late author (Plinius Valerianus (?) A.D. 400), apparently in a horticultural sense; cf. the f. or n. noun cyma (= κίμα), used especially of spring cabbage-sprouts (Pliny N.H. XIX 137, XX 90; Col. R.R. X 129, XI 3 24). The word has various associations of shape, including the architectural 'waved moulding'; Martianus Capella uses it of a 'spherical layer' (VIII 814 ignis cyma). Apuleius might have used the diminutive cymula to suggest the 'bulge' of the handle as opposed to the blade, or some special shape (hollow, spiral, fluted or even knobbly). Crusius' suggestion claulae (? a handle shaped like a small 'claua' or club) is also an agricultural term, 'cutting' (Varro R.R. I 40 4); cf. Umor. *klavla (Tabulae Iuvinee II a 33 and 36, IV 11), which may mean a stick or spatula

for smearing unguent. The vulgate reading clausulae ('quia finis et ultimum est strigilis', Oudendorp) can hardly be right. ~~Oudendorp's own conjecture sullabae is unattested in this sense.~~ No really convincing emendation has been proposed. ligula, sometimes used of a ladle or 'skimmer', is here used for the blade of the strigil.

9 p.12 5 ut et in sa manu camilo moraretur. The shape of the handle would make the strigil less liable to slip in the hand. Oudendorp, following a reading cited by Hermannus, suggests motaretur for moraretur, but the sense given suits in manu less well and ignores the special advantage of the tapering handle.

9 v.13 ⁶ tam numerosa arte multiscium. See note on 'arte multiscius' at 3 p.4 17. 'numerosus' is post-Augustan in this sense; Koziol p.251 compares Metam. XI 29 numerosa serie religionis. totius scientia. 'totiugis', like 'totiugus', is Apuleian; Kratschmann n.56, Koziol p.277. Cf. the earlier 'multiugus' and 'multiugis' (Livy XXVIII 9 15 multiugis equis; Cicero Att. 9 1 ... ex tuis litteris, ovas quidem multiuges accepi uno tempore a Vestori liberto). In Apuleian usage the literal sense of the component iugum is virtually lost sight of; cf. De deo Socr. 8 totiuga sulera; Fl. 13 p.35 20 totiuga imitamenta; 15 p.22 18 multiugis calicibus. For the use of the singular 'totiugi', cf. the singular of 'multiugus' at Metam. IV 13 apparatus multiugi; XI 5 nomine multiugo; Fl. 16 p.27 12 (gratiam) multiugam. To these may be added the Apuleian coinage 'teriugus' at Metam. VI 19 canis ^rgrandis teriugo et satis amolo capite praeditus. daedalum. The adjective (restored by van der Vliet) is poetic, hence perhaps the vulgate reading Daedalus. For the proverbial use of the name Daedalus for a man of many skills, see Otto, op.cit. p.105. An adjective is, however, needed here to balance multiscium and magnificum. There is

perhaps some sarcasm in the lofty tones of this eulogy of Hipodias, especially in the words 'utensilium peritiae'. Cf. 'supellectilis multiformi instrumento' below.

9 p.13 8 et ipse ... laudo. For et ipse, 'I too', but with a reservation to come, see note on 'praeco proconsulis et ipse' at 9 p.11 8 above.

9 p.13 9 doctrinae quam supellectilis ... instrumento. Cf. Apol. 91 doctrinae instrumentum, 'the furtherance of learning'. Here 'instrumentum' acquires a more concrete sense from the juxtaposition of supellectilis, i.e. 'stock', 'provision', 'supply'. multiformi: classical; cf. the Apuleian 'pluriformi' at 3 p.3 11 above.

9 p.13 10 sellularias ... artes: 'the sedentary crafts'. Cf. Fl. 15 p.21 10 sellularios artifices. For the contemptuous implications of the word, cf. Gellius III 1 10 sellulariis quaestibus ... in quibus omnis eorum uigor animi corporisque elanguescit; Livy VIII 20 4 opificum quoque uolgens et sellularii, minime militiae idoneum uerus. For the similar Greek view of the degrading effect of the handicrafts, cf. Plato Rep. 495 d 7 - e 2 and Adam's note ad loc.; Xenophon Oec. 4 2-3; Aristotle Pol. 1337 b 8 f. Apuleius passes over the point that Hipodias made the articles for his own use and not for sale.

9 p.13 11 textrina. The weaver's shop or workroom, cf. Vitruv. VI 4 2 plumbariorum textrina.

9 p.13 12 baveas istas. Cf. Plaut. Men. 391 cui extergentur baveae? According to Isidorus Orig. XIX 39 6 and 13, these were a type of shoe formerly worn by comic actors; according to Varro, they were female footwear; see Ernout-Meillet p.68, who also quotes 'ἑσυχίους παῖδες ὑπόδημα εὐυπόδητον. In Apuleius, the 'bavea' is the

characteristic philosopher's shoe: Metam. XI 8 nec (deerat) cui pallio baculoque et baxeis et hircino barbitio philosophum fingeret. Cf.

Metam. II 28 pedesque palmeis baxeis inductum. For istes = 'has meas', see note on 'optutum istum terrenum' at 2 p.2 10 above. praestinare is Plautine (Cant. 848, Pseud. 169).

9 p.13 12 enimvero amulum nec gestere. For the force of 'enimvero', here asseverative rather than purely adversative, cf. note on 'aquila enimvero' at 2 p.2 13 above (fin.). That Apuleius, a member of the local provincial nobility (son of an erstwhile duumvir, see Introd. p.29), does not wear a ring is clearly surprising and a sign of his philosophical convictions. F. Norden (Apuleius von Madaura und das römische Privatrecht v.88) regards this passage and Anol. 75 (of a bankrupt: negat posse dissolvere, amulos aureos et omnia insignia dignitatis abicit) as evidence that the wearing of a gold ring was considered a mark of social worth. nec gestere. nec is used here in the sense of 'ne ... quidem'; see note on 'quanquam nec haec illi sit cum aliis promiscua' at 8 p.9 22 above.

9 p.13 13 gemma et aurum iuxta plumbum et lanillos nulli aestimare. 'gemma' as a collective singular is usually poetic; for the collocation with 'aurum' cf. Ovid Amores III 13 25 uirginei crines auro cernuae premuntur; Sil. Ital. VII 84-5. For the use of aurum and plumbum in antithesis to symbolise wealth and poverty, cf. Petronius Sat. 43 7 plane fortunae filius, in manu illius plumbum aurum fiebat. nulli aestimare. nulli is ~~probably~~ genitive; cf. Ter. And. 608 nulli consilium; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantir I p.291. Birmanf suggests nihili.

9 p.13 15 prorsum. For prorsus, frequent in Apuleius, although rare elsewhere in late Latin; Caltebat op.cit. p.531. nec ra in nec cu ula. 'reclius' is the weaver's shuttle (Lucr. V 1353, Virg. Aen. IX 476, Ovid Metam. VI 56 and 132); 'subula' is the shoemaker's awl (partial III 10 2).

id genus ferramentis. See note on 'hoc genus crimina' at 3 p.5 7 above. uti nosse. See note on 'bubulcitare novere' at 6 p.7 1 above.

9 p.13 17 pro his praeoptare. For the pleonasm, cf. Apol. 71 Pudentillam ... me fortasse prae ceteris maluisse, and the use of prae and the ablative with comparatives (e.g. Metam. X 8 prae ceteris senior, Koziol p.178 f.); also Fl. 15 p.22 11 super captum hominis ... augustior.

9 p.13 17 uno chartario calamo me reficere. The analogy introduced at line 9 above between 'doctrina' and 'supellex' is continued in the idea of the pen as a single tool with which, in contrast with the many required by Hippias, Apuleius is able to produce the variety of his literary works; this in turn paves the way for the unusual meaning attached to reficere ('fashion repeatedly'). See Introd. p.41. The emphatic uno prevents the collocation one might have expected: 'charta et calamo'. Cf. Metam. I 1 papyrus Aegyptiam argutia Nilotici calami inscriptam. me reficere. For the use of the accusative and infinitive with praeoptare in place of the simple infinitive, cf. the similar construction with 'uolo', 'nolo', 'malo', etc. Köhner-Stegmann 2 I pp. 714-15.

9 p.13 18 noemata omnigenus. For 'omnigenus' (a fusion of 'omne genus') see note on 'hoc genus crimina' at 3 p.5 7 above. For the extension of such phrases to cases other than the nominative and accusative, see E. Wölfflin, Archiv für latein. Lexic. V n.39/. anta uirgae. Oudendorp understands by 'uirga' the plectrum or rod with which the cithara was played. (For the cithara as the traditional accompanying instrument of epic poetry, cf. Virg. Aen. IX 746-7, Quintilian I 10 10). However, the word does not appear elsewhere in this sense, and others

(Colvius, Elmenhorst) interpret 'uirga' as the rhapsode's wand or staff (Greek ῥάβδος). In either case, the reference would be to epic poetry.

9 p.13 19 grinuos. Greek γρίφος, 'riddle', 'muzzle'. These seem to have been a type of intellectual after-dinner entertainment, see Athenaeus X 69 (448C ff.); Paulv-Wissowa I A1, p.62 on Rätsel.

Philosophical puzzles such as the 'sorites' are referred to as 'griphos' by Gellius I 2 4; cf. the fragments of Clearchus ed. F.

Wehrli, Die Schule des Aristoteles III p.31 ff. and Athenaeus X 86

(457C) quoting Clearchus: τῶν γρίφων ἡ ζήτησις οὐκ ἀλλοτρία

φιλοσοφίας ἐστί. καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν τῆς παιδείας

ἀπόδειξιν ἐν τούτοις ἐποιοῦντο.

Sidonius Epist. IX 13 3

refers to a collection of 'conviviales quaestiones' composed by Apuleius, which he recommends to a young friend: certe si saluberrimis evocamentis, ut qui adhuc iuuenis, tepidius inflecteris, a Platonico Madaurensi ultim formulas mutuare convivialium quaestionum, quoque reddaris instructor, has solue propositas, has propone solvendas, hisque te studiis, et dum otiaris, exerce. Cf. Macrobius Sat. VII 3 25 f.

Apuleius also wrote books of proverbs: Charisius Instit. Gram. II

(Keil, Grammatici Latini I p.240) 'mutmut non facere audent', ut Apulei

Platonici de Proverbiis scriptum est libro II.

9 p.13 20 orationes. Stewechius' emendation of the MS reading rationes has been generally accepted. dialogos. Schanz-Hosius III p.123 refer to Priscian (Keil, Gramm. Latini II p.509): Apuleius in dialogo, qui est de deo Socratis; adding the comment "bezeichnet mit dialogus zwar nur den philosophischen Character der Schrift". Apuleius may, therefore, be referring here to his philosophical works in general. More probably, however, he has in mind the kind of dialogue to which he refers at the

end of Fl. 18 (p.38 21), written in the Platonic manner.

9 p.13 21 atque haec <et> alia /et/ eius modi tam graece quam latine.

Colvius' transposition of et restores sense to the passage: 'and these too, and other words of the same kind, both in Greek and in Latin.' atque haec is here used in the sense of καὶ ταῦτα in Greek; Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.619. tam graece quam latine, gemino uoto, nari studio, simili stilo. See Introd. p.36. Cf. St. Augustine Civ. Dei VIII 12 recentiores tamen philosophi nobilissimi, quibus Plato sectandus placuit, noluerint se Perinateticos aut Academicos, sed Platonicos, ex quibus sunt ualde nobilitati Graeci Plotinus, Iamblichus, Porphyrius; in utraque autem lingua, id est Graece et Latina, Amuleius Afer extitit Platonicus nobilis. Cf. Fl. 18 n.35 16; n.38 16 ff.; Anol. 4 init. and 36.

9 n.13 23 non singillatim ac discretim, sed cunctim et coacervatim.

The last three of these adverbs appear first in Amuleius. See A. Funck in Archiv für Lat. Lexic. VIII p.77 ff., who quotes, among new adverbs in -tim coined by Amuleius, Metam. IV 8 aggregatim, adminatim; III 2 annulatim; I 13 baculatim; XI 22 canreolatim; Anol. 35 congestim; Procl. 3 directim. For the development of these forms, which are especially frequent in Amuleius, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I p.300.

9 n.13 24 proconsul optime. Sextus Cocceius Seuerianus Honorinus, procos. of Africa probably in 162/3. See Gsell, Inscript. Lat. Alger. I 1030, and for details of his career, Groag and Stein, Prosopographia Imperii Romani II 1230. For the proconsuls of Africa during this period, see R. Syme in Revue des Etudes Anciennes LXI (1959) p.318.

9 p.4 1 praedicabili testimonio tuo. The adjective is rare and appears here only in Amuleius. Cf. Cicero Tusc. V 49 praedicabile

alioud et gloriandum. Apuleius' phrase seems to mean 'the wide publicity of your approbation'. For 'testimonium' as the expressed approval of a distinguished person, cf. Fl.¹⁵ p.23 16 and Fl. 16 p.28 18. ad omnem nostram Camenam. 'ad' = 'in respect of'. 'nostram' is a 'pluralis modestiae' (Kühner-Stegmann 2 I pp.87-8). Apuleius' thought here seems still to be following the lines suggested by the comparison with Hippias, who won wide applause by his simultaneous display of many arts at the Olympic Games. Apuleius, though he prefers his own accomplishments, regrets that he cannot display them all at one and the same time for the proconsul's benefit.

9 p.14 2 non hercle penuria laudis, quae ... ad te reservata est.
penuria: causal ablative. 'Not indeed that I am in short supply of praise ...' Apuleius may be referring (a) to the good opinion of himself held by all the previous proconsuls up to Severianus, or (b) to the praise which he has to bestow on Severianus, which is 'integra et florens' because this is the first occasion on which he has been called on to make such an official speech. The latter explanation would give a more natural sense to reservata ('reserved for you'); otherwise the meaning must be 'kept safe', cf. Cic. Cat. IV 18 habetis consulem ... ex media morte reservatum'. The interplay between Apuleius' praise of the proconsul and the proconsul's praise of him begins in this sentence. antecessores tuos. Cf. Fl. 15 n.23 15 omnibus tuis antecessoribus. The word is rare and in these two instances in Apuleius means 'predecessors in office'. Elsewhere it is used in the more literal sense of a military vanguard, Suet. Vitell. 17 agminis antecessores. For tuos in place of an objective genitive

cf. Fl. 6 p.6 23 'retentores suos' and 9 p.14 8 below 'dilectorem tuum'; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.66, Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.599.

9 p.14 5 enim sic natura comparatum est. For initial 'enim', see note on 'enim non nisebit' at 9 p.12 19 above. comparatum est. This vulgate reading is accented by some editors (Oudendorp, van der Vliet, Helm etc.) in place of the reading of F and ϕ comprobatum, since 'comparatum' (with or without 'natura') is the verb normally used in this common expression; cf. Terence Heaut. 503, Pliny Enist. III 4 6 and V 19 5. Brakman (Mnemosyne XXVI 1908 p.34) further compares Sidonius Enist. VII 2 9 pariter et natura comparatum est, ut quibus impendimus studium, praestemus affectum. comprobatum may, however, be a deliberate verbal echo of probo and probatiorum in the previous sentence, rather than a mere copyist's error, so that Vallette may well be right in retaining comprobatum est.

9 p.14 6 laudes ... ames ... ames ... uelis. 2nd person singular of general application. etiam laudari te ab illo. For the accusative and infinitive with 'uelis' (which appears to be normal when the verb is in the passive), see note on 'me reficere' (after 'praeoptare') at 9 p.13 17 above. The arrangement of clauses in this sentence shows a marked effect of chiasmus.

9 p.14 8 dilectorem tuum. Brantius, no doubt in view of what follows, suggested lehitorem for dilectorem, which carries on the thought of the previous sentence. Neither word is found elsewhere in Apuleius, but 'dilector' is an Apuleian neologism; see note on 6 p.6 23 'retentores'. For tuum cf. Cic. Att. I 20 7 amator noster, and see note on 'antecessores tuos' under 9 p.14 2 (fin.). pruatum ... publicitus. For the antithesis,

cf. Plautus Bacch. 313-14. The use of 'publicitus' (pre-classical) was revived by the archaizers; Gallus VII 14 4 peccatus, quae prohiberi publicitus interest; Apul. Metam. I 10 publicitus indignatio percrebruit; VI 7 publicitus edicere (and often).

9 p.14 9 nihil quinque. For the position of quinque, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.511 (8). Cf. Fl. 18 p.35 24. cui nec postulavi. For 'nec' in the sense of 'ne ... quidem', see note on 'quanquam nec haec ...' at 8 p.9 22 above, and cf. 'amulum nec gestare' at 9 p.13 12.

9 p.14 11 non tantum beneficium amare, sed etiam maleficium (negare). Helm's addition of negare seems marginally to improve the balance with amare, but there remains the odd implication that the proconsul might have done Amuleius some disservice, while the meaning of 'maleficium negare' is not in itself very clear. Vallette simply retains the MS reading, but Kronenberg (in Mnemosyne LVI 1928 pp.47-8) suggests very plausibly that Apuleius wrote 'philosophia me docuit non tantum beneficium amare sed etiam beneficium': this was corrupted to 'beneficium', which a copyist rationalised by "correcting" in turn to maleficium. My own view is that the main contrast here is still between private favour and public service, and that since Apuleius has thus far used 'amare' with personal objects, we might read non tantum beneficium amare, sed etiam munificum: 'not only a kind (obliging) person, but also a public-spirited one'. A contrast of meaning between these two adjectives might be inferred from the use of the noun 'munificentia' for generous spending on public shows, e.g. Suetonius Div. Iul. 10 suam Caesaris munificentiam; beneficia and munificentia are contrasted as 'private favours' and 'public generosity' at Sallust Cat. 5/ 2 Caesar

beneficiis ac magnificentia maxima habebatur. The less usual use of the adjective 'magnificus' in this restricted sense would perhaps account for the corruption.

9 n.14 12 magisque iudicio innertire. Butler translates 'to attach greater importance to justice'. The meaning of 'iudicium', however, seems to be 'judgment' or 'reason' as opposed to 'interest' ('commodum'). innertire and the dative without an object accusative is unusual and seems tolerable here only as a balancing word to inseruire. expediat: final subjunctive.

9 p.14 14 plerique fructum, ego studium. 'studium' here appears to mean the mental attitude or 'good will' embodied in the virtuous action, as contrasted with the concrete result or 'profit'.

9 p.14 14 idone facere adortus sum: sc. 'studium diligere'. Apuleius is now passing from the idea of public service to the even wider benefit conferred by a virtuous example. dum mo/derationem tuam ... contemnor, qua effec<is>ti ut te amare debeant. F reads modo derationem,

φ modo rationem, with moderationem as a marginal correction, which has been accepted by editors. Both F and φ read effectius (vulgate efflictum = 'desperately'), for which effecisti ut is van der Vliet's emendation. Leo and Purser (Hermathena XIV p.402) defend effectius, which occurs again at Fl. 16 p.30 16 sed de hoc tum ego perfectius, cum vos effectius; cf. 15 p.20 7. Purser wishes, however, to change the subjunctive debeant to debeant. If effectius is retained, the subjunctive debeant should probably be taken as consecutive or generic. The adverb effecte is used by Martial II 27 3; Apuleius is the first to use the comparative form (Koziol n.307). expertis ... expertes.

Antithesis pointed by a somewhat obvious paronomasia. Although the two classes are mutually exclusive, the good example, as Amuleius goes on to say, is beneficial to all.

9 p.14 19 quis enim a te non amet discere. 'amare' with the infinitive is used here as a verb of willing, without the usual connotation of habitual action. Cf. Horace Carm. I 2 50 hic ames dici pater atque princeps; Sat. II 3 20 olim nam quaerere amabam ... Sat. II 3 20 importunus amat laudari. Amuleius allows the idea of 'loving' to permeate this whole passage, as we are led, step by step, from loving the man, loving his services, to loving the moral lesson he exemplifies. What philosophy has taught Amuleius is now represented as the universal wish, owing to the inherent attractiveness of the proconsul's character.

9 p.14 19 quamam moderatione contineri queat ...; tua ista gravitas iucunda ... blandusque vigor est. Helm postulates a lacuna after queat (to be filled by tuum munus or some such phrase), and a fresh beginning with tua ista gravitas, completing the sentence with blandusque vigor est in place of blandusque vigorem (the reading of F and Φ). Others allow the sense to run on, so that 'gravitas', 'austeritas', etc., become the subject of queat. For the use of the singular verb with more than one singular subject, especially when the verb precedes, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.133, Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.45. For contineri ('maintain'), cf. Plautus As. 318 si istam firmitudinem animi optines, salui sumus. For blandusque vigorem (F and Φ), van der Vliet accepts the vulgate reading blandusque vigor animi, which Oudendorp varies to blandusque vigor animi; Leo proposes blando cum vigore. I would prefer with Vallette to read simply blandusque vigor in a list of the proconsul's qualities put in four balancing phrases, each an oxymoron to which Oudendorp compares De deo Socr. 2 seuera gratia toruo decore

(of the night sky). The proconsul's success is due to the fact that there are no excesses in his character or actions, but he tempers strictness and firmness with a gentle and likeable personality. For uigor, Oudendorp compares Velleius Paterculus II 98 esse mores eius uigore ac lenitate mixtissimos. The younger Dousa's suggestion of rigor ('inflexibility') is, however, attractive.

9 n.14 22 neminem ... quod sciam. See Handford, The Latin Subjunctive p.81. reuerita ... uerita. Cf. Apul. 103 (fin.) possum securus existimationem tuam reuereri quam potestatem uereri (Koziol p.203; Brakman, Mnemosyne XXXVII (1909) p.76). nemo te alius, Cf. Horace Ep. II 2 240 ne quis ... alius Lysippo; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.111.

9 p.15 2 filium adduxit. Groag & Stein, PIR II p.289 1218. This son of Severianus, who as legatus was left in charge during his father's absence from Carthage, is probably the subject of a Carthaginian inscription: COCCEIO HONORINO C(LARISSIMO) V(IRO) LEG(ATO) PRO(PRAETORE) PROVINCIAE AFRICAE) (Revue Archéologique XXXVIII 1901 p.322; RE Suppl. I p.324 6a and 19a). In republican times the legatus of a proconsul did not normally have 'imperium', but under the empire this seems to have been the regular practice; see under 'legatus pro praetore' in RE XII 1143-4. Honorinus had not yet held the praetorship (line 15 below).

9 n.15 4 minus sensimus absentiam tuam, cuiusquam te n. is desideraremus. Lipsius' minimam, accepted by Holz, for 'IS quam gives tolerable sense: 'we felt your absence less, though we missed you (i.e. desired your

presence) more'; but it is difficult to be sure that this is what Apuleius wrote, or the meaning he intended. Kronenberg and Purser (Hermathena XIV p.4P2-3) would retain quam, but Purser wishes to understand desiderare in a conditional sense ('we felt your absence less than would have otherwise been our greater sense of loss'), which is barely intelligible. The wildest reading quam ut ... desiderare would give what appears to be the required meaning: 'we felt your absence too little to miss you more', sc. more than we in fact did. The same sense, however, is occasionally expressed without 'ut'; see Kühner-Stegmann 2 II n.301, who quote among other examples Seneca Ben. II 16 2 minor, quam in sinu eius condenda sit ciuitas; Sen. De otio 3 3 corruption ... quam adiuuari possit (where 'ut' is supplied by some editors). Compare the use of notius quam with subjunctive for a rejected alternative, e.g. Cicero Tusc. II 52 (Zeno) perpersus est omnia potius quam conscios delendae tyrannidis indicaret. For other suggested readings, see Helm app. crit. (The suggestion of Chodaczek in Eos XXXII 1929 p.289, that magis should precede quam introducing an indirect question, with 'sensimus' supplied from the previous clause ('rather, we felt how, i.e. how much, we desired your presence'), involves a highly unnatural collocation of words and no real improvement in meaning.)

9 p.15 8 efficit ac representat. efficit, a later correction of F and Q efficit, is generally accepted. But Colvius' suggestion efficiat should not be overlooked; cf. 'truncus dolamine efficiatus' at l p.1 10 above, and Sidonius Enist. VI 12 6 quam Graecia sua ... efficiat immanis (sc. Triptolemus). In either case the two verbs are virtually synonymous.

9 p.15 8 admirabilior esset in iuvene quam in te pater laus. For pater, Brantius suggested pater. Kronenberg supplies parata after iuvene. Either suggestion improves the balance of the sentence, and provides an attractive and effective antithesis. nisi eam ... qua utinam. Stewechius changes to eum ... quo, presumably on the ground that laus having been used in the sense of personal prestige, qua ... liceret frui could only refer to Honorinus, not to the people of Carthage. This is clearly wrong, since laus, being common to father and son, provides a transition back to the proconsul, and so explains Apuleius' wish. Helm interprets laus as 'uirtus laudabilis', see app. crit. For dedisseg van der Vliet reads tradidisse, and for qua he suggests qui (occasionally used in wishes, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II 1 p.331).

9 p.15 10 quid nobis cum istis ... vicibus, quid cum annis breuibus. The phrase 'quid mihi (etc.) cum' ('what have I to do with') is usually found with nouns denoting persons, e.g. Livy XXXVIII 45 9 quid enim tibi cum Oroandis? quid cum aliis aequae innoxiae populi? For 'annis' = 'year of office', cf. two anno at 9 p.14 23. The breaking up of the time interval into progressively shorter units (annis ... mensibus ... dies) has the effect of accelerating the pace of time's passage, which is further emphasised by the repetition of words suggesting speed: breuibus ... festinantibus ... celeres ... citata curricula. The thought that the days of good men pass all too swiftly has a quasi-proverbial ring, cf. Statius Silvae II 7 90 o munus data longa fata summis. Here, of course, Amuleius is referring to the good governor's term of office, not to the term of his life. Hence the plural celeris ... dies is to be preferred to the vulgate cel r ... dies.

9 p.15 14 tota provincia. In apposition to the subject of 'desideramus'.
On the tense of this verb, see Helm's note in his app. crit.

9 p.15 14 enimvero. Contrastive, but also resumptive of the earlier
wish 'utinam perpetuo ...' (10 above). Honorium ... bonos suos.

The word-play is no doubt intentional. fanor Caesarum. Marcus
Aurelius and Lucius Verus, joint emperors A.D. 161-169. impraesentiarum.

Cf. 'depraesentiarum' = 'here and now', Petronius Sat. 58 3 and 74 17.

Both these words are described as archaic and popular by Ernout-Meillet,
p.532. Elsewhere in the Florida (16 p.27 13 and 18 p.35 4) Apuleius
uses 'nunc impraesentiarum', which Becker (op. cit. pp.41-2) regards,
with 'igitur proinde', as a pleonastic usage deliberately confined
to the rhetorical speeches. Here impraesentiarum appears to mean
not so much 'for the present' as 'already at this moment'. tenet ...
spondet. Helm's punctuation shows that he takes spondet in an absolute
sense, but Honorium is probably the object of both these verbs, as
of the earlier vocat and format.

9 p.15 18 mi legatus mittitur. mittitur must mean 'sent on his way'
(i.e. back to Rome). This sentence provides the information that
Severianus himself had previously been a legatus in the province.
cito reversurus. Apuleius may be taking liberties with the time
factor here. If Severianus was consul suffect in 177 (RE Suppl. I
324 19a), he must have held the proconsulship comparatively late in
his career, and long after his year as legatus pro praetore.

FLORIDA 10

Fl. 10 appears to be part of a brief cosmological sketch, infused with religious ideas derived from Plato's Timaeus and Symposium. The treatment is popular rather than scientific, and stylistic ornament is very marked. A novel feature is the mention at the end of the passage of the various forms of locomotion assigned by providence to the different kinds of terrestrial creature, leading up to 'gressus hominibus', but how Apuleius intended to apply this particular excursus is beyond the scope even of conjecture. For fuller treatment of cosmological and religious topics, see Apuleius' philosophical works, the De deo Socratis, De Platone I and De Mundo.

10 p.15 19 sol qui ... explicas. (The misprint in Helm's text, aquis for equis, is corrected on p.51). These two lines are from Accius' Phoenissae (Ribbeck³ p.244; Warmington, Remains of Old Latin II p.252), preserved with two others by Priscian De metris fabularum Terentii p.1325 (Keil Gramm. Lat. p.424 20), and based on Euripides' Phoenissae 1-5. Priscian, however, quotes the first line as 'sol qui micantem candido curru atque equis', as against candentem feruido cursu, the reading of F and ϕ . Gudendorp and others consider the error in the Apuleian line to be due to a faulty recollection; cf. Gatscha, Quaestiones Apuleianarum Capita Tria pp.143-4, who adduces other examples of apparent misquotation in Apuleius: Apol. 6, cf. Catallus 39 19; De deo Socr. 1, cf. Lucretius V 576-7; De deo Socr. 11, cf. Plautus Ill. Glor. 4. The fact that feruido is written twice points, however, to a textual corruption, and attempts to change f ruidio in the first line (e.g. peridio Gudendorp, fulgido Helm) seem pointless in view of Leo's convincing explanation of candentem f ruidio as a copyist's misunderstanding of a correction in the archetype, where

feruido had been written in error, with cand as a marginal correction, which produced the further error candentem in place of micantem. The MS reading cursu may also be due to a copyist who considered it more apt as combined with feruido. Priscian's curru is confirmed by Euripides' $\delta\iota\phi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$ (Phoen. 2). The variant punicantem (cf. l'etam. III 1 punicantibus phaleris aurora) was attested in some unnamed MSS by Decichemus (Oudendorp ed loc.), who rejected it for obvious metrical reasons, himself reading micantem. It is, moreover, open to doubt whether the other 'misquotations' attributed to Apuleius are not rather verbal echoes or adaptations; cf. De deo Socr. 2 qui signorum ortus et obitus comperit, which recalls Catallus 66 2 qui stellarum ortus comperit atque obitus. The line quoted from Catallus (39 19) in Apol. 6 involves the difference of a single word (punicare for defricare); it seems most unlikely that Apuleius would misremember two or even three words in the same line. The quotation from Plautus at Fl. 18 p.34 17 has been used by Lindsay to emend the text of Truc. 1-3.

10 p.16 1 luminis eius discipula: i.e. the sun teaches the moon to shine. This charming fancy is consistent with the view that the moon receives its light from the sun, but does not actually commit Apuleius to one theory rather than another; cf. De deo Socr. 1 lunamque solis aemulam, noctis decus ... siue illa proprio ... candore, ut Chaldaei arbitrantur ... seu proprii candoris experts etc. Scriuerius' decipula (noun f. or n. = 'snare', 'trap') is rightly rejected by Oudendorp; Apuleius uses the word elsewhere but always with a connotation of trickery, e.g. Fl. 18 p.36 10, l'etam. VIII 5, X 24.

10 p.16 1 quinque ceterae uagantium potestates. The five planets or 'wanderers' (Plato Tim. 38 c). The terms 'uagae', 'uagari' are commonly used to describe the planets and their movements, e.g. Cicero N.D. II 103, Rep. I 22, Horace Epist. I 12 17. Elsewhere Apuleius complains that the terms are misleading: De deo Socr. 2 quae uulgo uagae ab imperitis nuncupantur; De Platone I 10 stellas quas non recte erroneas et uagas dicimus. Cf. Fl. 15 p.22 1 numinum uagantium statos ambitus. potestates: possibly an astrological term, translating Greek δυνάμεις. Cf. line 4 below 'mediae deum potestates' and De deo Socratis 6 diuinae mediae potestates. In a rather different sense, 'potestates' may be used for persons of high rank or official position, e.g. Pliny N.H. IX 26, Suetonius Nero 36 1, Claud 23 1; cf. Virgil Aen. X 18, and ecclesiastical Latin, Ephes. 6 12, Pet. I 3 22.

10 p.16 2 Iouis benefica, Veneris uoluptifica. 'beneficus' is the Latin equivalent of the Greek astrological term ἀγαθοποιός (as 'maleficus' is of κακοποιός, Pliny N.H. VII 160; cf. 'perniciosa Saturni' below). Cf. the fourth century astrologer Paulus Alexandrinus Eisagogika (E. Boer, Teubner 1958) Ε Ζ ἀγαθοποιοὶ δὲ ἀστέρεις εἰσὶν Ζεὺς ... κακοποιοὶ δὲ Κρόνος κτλ. For the benign influence of Jupiter, cf. Cic. Rep. VI 17 hominum generi prosperus et salutaris ille fulgor, qui dicitur Iouis; as opposed to the malign influence of Saturn, Horace Carm. II 17 22-3, Persius V 50. Lucan in an astrological passage calls Jupiter 'mitis' and Saturn 'nocens' (I 660, 652). uoluptifica, found here only, was presumably coined by Apuleius to match benefica (Kretschmann p.53, Koziol p.277; Ernout-Meillet p.752, and Walde-Hofmann p.834). The form represents either *uoluptatificus with dissimilatory loss of one syllable, or *uolupificus (from uolup attested in Plautus and Terence with t added

under the influence of uoluptas, uoluptarius. For the epithet cf. Lucretius I 1 hominum diuinique uoluptas / alma Venus. Venus too was a benign star ('salubre', Lucan I 661).

10 p.16 3 pernix Mercuri, pernicioso Saturni, Martis ignita. Again two adjectives match, the similarity being this time in the first part of the word, which, together with the reversal of the noun-adjective order, gives a marked effect of chiasmus. pernix. Mercury traverses its orbit in the shortest time of any of the planets (Ptolemy Tetr. I 4 18). Cf. Lucan I 662 celer Cyllenius. pernicioso. See previous note. ignita (cf. De Mundo 16 ignitus liquor) is from 'ignis', not the late verb 'ignio', Ernout-Meillet p.308, Walde-hofmann p.676. The epithet recalls Mars' Greek name Πυρρῆς, Arist. De Mundo 392 a 26 and 399 a 9 (= Pyrois, Apul. De Mundo 2 and 29), Cicero N.D. II 53; cf. πυρρῆς, used of Mars by Ptolemy Tetr. I 5 19. The reddish appearance of the planet may be thought to reflect a baleful influence; Cicero Pep. VI 17 rutilis horribilisque terris quem Martium dicitis; Firmicus Maternus Math. I 4 7 Mars etiam, quem uides ignitis fulgorum ardoribus sanguinolentam et minaci luminis coruscatione terribilem. Apuleius seems to be using ignita here purely as a colour-word, and though he places Mars next to Saturn, he modifies the normal astrological grouping of the two malign stars by linking Saturn through the word-pattern with the neutral star Mercury rather than with Mars. Apart from the association of Venus and Mercury, Apuleius avoids the astronomical order, by which the planets are placed according to their distance from the earth (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Venus, De Plat. I 11, De Mundo 2). The result is that the planets appear here more as a unified group of divine powers than as a list classified from a particular viewpoint.

10 p.16 4 mediae deum potestates. Cf. De deo Socr. 6 ceterum sunt quaedam diuinae mediae potestates inter summum aethera et infimas terras in isto intersitae aeris spatio, per quas et desideria nostra et merita ad deos commeant (etc.). Both the present brief mention and the long account in the De deo Socratis are derived from Plato Symp. 202 e - 203 a, where Diotima explains the nature of Ἐρως as one of the δαιμόνες intermediate and intermediary between god and man. In De Plat. I 11 (fin.) Apuleius uses the old Roman term 'medioximi' to refer to this class of deity; cf. Plaut. Cist. 512 at ita me di deaque superi atque inferi et medioximi (where the reference seems to be to the Lares; cf. Apul. De Plat. 12 (p.96 13) daemones uero, quos Genios et Lares possumus nuncupare, ministros deorum arbitrantur custodesque hominum et interpretes, si quid a diis uelint). These aerial 'daemones' are also responsible for dreams and prophecy; Plato Symp. loc. cit. and Apul. De deo Socr. 6-7. Amor is specifically mentioned, together with Somnus, at De deo Socr. 16 (init.).

10 p.16 4 quas licet sentire, non datur cernere. The infinitive with 'dare' is poetical (Kretschmann p.137) but here balances its use with 'licet'. id genus. See note on 'hoc genus crimina' at 3 p.5 7 above. quorum forma inuisitata, uis cognita. The second pair of balancing clauses repeats the idea of the first, but in reverse order. For inuisitata in this meaning, cf. Vitruvius IX 1 4 (of the signs of the zodiac) omnia autem uisitata et inuisitata temporum necessitate sunt constituta. For the thought, cf. Empedocles' description of Φιλία fr. 17 21 f. την σὺ νόψ δέρκευ, μηδ' ὀμνασιν ἡσο τεθηπώς / ἥτις καὶ ἐνητοῖσι νομίζεται ἔμφυτος ἄρθροισι κτλ.

10 p.16 6 item in terris, utcumque prouidentiae ratio noscebat ... extulit. The absence of a subject for extulit and the following verbs (coacouauit ... distinxit ... dedit) is not immediately apparent, as the mind supplies the thought of divine providence from the subordinate clause. The same subject, however, can hardly be said both to demand and to perform, and the subject of extulit and later verbs is probably 'deus', either understood from the context or possibly from some earlier mention that is not included in the present fragment. The introductory phrase 'item in terris' would perhaps suggest that Apuleius had previously attributed the order and movement of the heavens to the same agency. Cf. De Mundo 29 (fin.) quae accidere deus his mundi mediis partibus uoluit; ibid. 30 (init.) cum igitur rex omnium et pater ... machinam omnem ... claram et sideribus relucens ... ab uno, ut supra dixi, principio agitari iubet; and numerous other references. For divine providence, see De Mundo 24 (fin.) and De Plat. I 12, where all natural processes are ascribed to it; cf. Isaiah.XI 1 (et saepe). The phrase prouidentiae ratio (i.e. the 'plan' of providence, or 'divine design') also occurs at Apol. 39, where Apuleius is defending his investigations into natural science: utrum igitur putas philosopho ... qui se Platonicae scholae meminerit, utrum ei putas turpe scire ista an nescire, negligere an curare, nosse quanta sit etiam in istis prouidentiae ratio an de diis immortalibus matri et patri credere?

10 p.16 8 uertices extulit ... planitiem coacouauit. See note on 'orbiculum circulauerat' at 9 p.12 17 above. supinam: 'low-lying', cf. Pliny Paneg. 30 4 supino ... solo (of the Nile's flat flood-plain).

10 p.16 9 pratorum uirores. uirores ('greenery') is coined by Apuleius to match fluores. Virgil uses 'uirecta' in this sense: Aen. VI 638; Apul. Metam. IV 2 laetissima uirecta. Cf. Lucretius V 783-5 principio genus herbarum uiridemque nitorem / terra dedit circum collis camposque per omnis, / florida fulserunt uiridanti prata colore. For the sound effect and balance of these and the following phrases, see Bernhard, Der Stil des Apuleius von Madaura p. 299.

10 p.16 10 uolatus auibus, uolutus serpentibus. As with the previous pair, uolutus (from 'uoluo') is coined to match uolatus (Koziol p. 273). Birds are classed by Apuleius as terrestrial, not as creatures of the air (De deo Socr. 8 fin.). gressus hominibus. For gressus in the sense of human gait, cf. Fl. 16 p.26 20 gressum reciperaui (i.e. the ability to walk); Columella R.R. III 10 9 pedes ad gressum compositos. Apuleius uses the plural rather than the singular of these fourth declension nouns, possibly for the sound effect. For the idea of different forms of movement as characterising different species of living thing, cf. the general distinction drawn at De deo Socr. 7 fin. ut in quaque parte naturae propria animalia, in aethere uoluentia, in terra gradientia.

FLORIDA 11

In this fragment Apuleius is again launching an attack, possibly on some plagiarist, whom he compares to the owner of a barren plot of ground, who steals his neighbours' flowers to put among his own thistles. Cf. 9 p.10 9 uti qui suo nomine obscuri sunt, meo innotescant, and the attack on false philosophers in Fl. 7.

11 p.16 12 herediolum sterile ^m et agrum scruposum. For the contemptuous use of the diminutive, cf. Apul. 101 exiguum herediolum. sterile is Colvius' correction of MS sterilem, which Koziol (p.253) would retain on the unlikely supposition that herediolum is here a masculine (cf. Metam. III 13 lorum quempiam ... depromit). Floridus' praediolum is possible due to a misunderstanding of the meaning of herediolum, for which it is practically a synonym, cf. Col. P.R. I praef. 13 autum herediolum; Gellius XIX 7 1 herediolum tenue. et agrum scruposum. The phrase as a whole constitutes a kenning. For 'scruposus', normally poetic, cf. Plautus Capt. 185 scruposam ... uiam; Lucan V 675 scruposisque ... saxis; Apul. Metam. VI 31 scruposum saxum.

11 p.16 13 rupinas. The word is Apuleian (= 'rupes', Ernout-Meillet p.581). Elsewhere it seems to mean a precipice; Metam. VI 26 uidet istas rupinas proximas et praeacutas in his prominentes silices; VII 13 prouolutosque in proximas rupinas praecipites dedere. senticeta: 'thorn bushes' (= 'sentis'), cf. Plautus Capt. 860 non es in senticeto, eo non sentis.

11 p.16 14 tesquis. Cf. Fl. 17 p.33 6 merulae in remotis tesquis fringultiunt; Horace Epist. I 14 19 deserta et inhospita tesqua, where

the scholiast gives the meaning as 'loca deserta et difficilia lingua Sabinorum'. The word appears as a sacerdotal term in Varro L.L. VII 10 quod loca quaedam agrestia, quod alicuius dei sunt, dicantur tesca; cf. ibid. 8 templa tescaque (where tesca is an emendation), and Paul. ex Fest. p.356 loca augurio designata. Cicero aspera ait esse et difficilia. Varro (ibid. 11) goes on to quote from Accius Philocteta (Ribbeck³ 554; Warmington, Remains of Old Latin II p.514) quis tu es mortalis, qui in deserta et tesqua te adportes loca? Varro rejects the meaning 'sancta' ascribed to the word by the writers of glossaries, but his own derivation from 'attueor' is hardly acceptable (Ernout-Meillet p.688, Walde-Hofmann II p.675).

ll p.16 15 infelix lolium et steriles dominantur aenae. Quoted from Virgil Georg. I 154, where the weeds are said to come up among the crops, but the line also occurs, with nascuntur for dominantur, at Ecl. V 37, where they grow in place of the crop planted. The context in the Ecloques, where thistles and thorns also come up in place of flowers, seems nearer to Apuleius' thought in the present passage, and he may well have had both lines in mind. See Conington's note on Ecl. V 37.

ll p.16 16 indigent(es). Van der Vliet's correction of MS indigent is necessary for the sense. aliena furatum eunt: 'set about stealing what does not belong to them'; cf. Sallust Jug. 85 42 bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Plautus has 'furatum uenire' at Trin. 864 and aud. 111.

ll p.16 17 cos flores. The repetition of flores gives an antithesis with carduis, and corresponds to the repetition of fruges ... frugibus in the earlier part of the sentence. Cf. 9 p.12 14 habebat amictui pallium ..., id quoque pallium.

11 p.16 18 qui suae uirtutis sterilis est. Cf. Tacitus Hist. I 3
 uirtutum sterile saeculum. The return to the singular (cf. 'patitur'
 at line 12 above) indicates that Apuleius is now about to apply his
 image. The reference to 'uirtus' could be taken to suggest that the
 sterile plot represents a deficiency in moral character and ideas.
 The sense of 'uirtus' here may, however, owe something to its use as
 an agricultural term; cf. Cato Agr. I 2 solo bono, sua uirtute ualeat
 (sc. praedium). The reference to stealing flowers would suggest
 literary plagiarism. For the image of literary work as a garden, cf.
 Plato Phaedrus 276 d ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐν γράμμασι κήπους, ὡς ἔοικε,
 παιδιᾶς χάριν σπερεῖ ... ἡσθήσεται τε αὐτοῖς θρωπῶν φρομένους
 ἀπαλοῦς.

FLORIDA 12

Apuleius' description of the parrot in this passage appears to be based on Pliny's account of the parrot and other talking birds in N.H. X 117 ff. Pliny and Apuleius are in turn followed by Solinus, a writer of the early third century, in his Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium (ed. Mommsen² Leipzig 1895, repr. 1958) 52 43-5. Mommsen (Introd. p. XVII-XIX) postulates an intermediate source between Pliny and the two later writers, his argument being based chiefly on the curious fact that both Apuleius and Solinus attribute to the parrot characteristics which Pliny includes in his chapter on the magpie. Apart from this, there is little in Apuleius that could not be owed to his own somewhat free and imaginative rendering of Pliny's account. Solinus' work is based largely on Pliny, but his description of the parrot appears to owe some points of detail to Apuleius. There is a brief mention of the parrot in Aristotle V.A. VIII 12 (fin.); cf. Plutarch De sollertia animalium XIX 1 (mor. 972F); Isidorus Origines XII 7 24. Literary references include Ovid Amores II 6, Statius Silvae II 4, Persius Prolog. 8, Martial XIV 73.

The style of the passage is comparatively straightforward, in places even rough, and with fewer rhetorical embellishments than is usual elsewhere in the Florida. There is no indication of context, and the description is not slanted in a way that would suggest application to a particular theme. It is therefore perhaps included in the collection as a model passage, with various possibilities of development, rather than as part of a speech actually delivered by Apuleius. These possible lines of development might include moralising on the effects of early education, or a comparison between the innocent

garrulity of the parrot who has been taught bad language and the malevolent abuse of Apuleius' rivals.

12 p.16 20 psittacus aui; Indiae aui; est. The repetition of aui; is barely tolerable, though Helm supports it with Apol. 8 (fin.) una ex auihus fluuiatilibus amica aui; (sc. crocodillo). Müller deleted the first aui;, Krüger the second; Rohde proposed talis in place of the second. Indiae aui;. Cf. Arist. H.A. 12 τὸ 'Ινδοῖκόν

ὄρνεον ἢ ψιττάκη. Pliny N.H. X 117 India hanc auem mittit; Solinus 52 43 sola India auem psittacum mittit; Ovid Am. II 6 1, Isid. Orig. XII 7 24. For the importation of Indian parrots into the Roman world, see E. H. Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India p.152 ff. Our parrot is clearly the Ring-necked Parakeet (psittacus torquatus).

12 p.16 20 instar illi minimo minus quam columbarum. instar ('likeness') here = 'size', though the word is more often used in comparisons of shape than of size, e.g. De Plat. I 8 instar pulchrae sphaerae; Metam. IX 32 lactuc^{ae} ueteres ... ad instar scoparum; Virgil Aen. II 15 instar montis equum. For the omission of ^{see} est, Oz101 p.65, who notes its omission in similar phrases with the dative, e.g. Tac. Hist. I 48 pater illi praetoria familia (et saepe). minimo minus = 'very nearly'; cf. Metam. I 4 minimo minus interii. The two examples differ in that in Metam. I 4 minus is virtually equivalent to a negative, whereas in the present example it has the force of a comparative with quam; in both examples minimo is 'measure of difference'. For the rarity of the expression see Helm's Introduction p. LXX. For the 'figura etymologica' cf. Plautus Capt. 643 certo certius (Metam. IX 41 and X 28); Metam. I 20 fabula fabulosius; Oz101 p.65.

12 p.16 21 non enim lacteus ille uel liuidus uel utrumque, subluteus aut sparsus. ^{sabluteus} ~~lacteus~~ is Apuleian (Kretschmann p.52, Koziol p.277). utrumque should mean 'a mixture of both', i.e. white and dark blue or grey. sparsus probably means 'speckled'. subluteus is translated by Butler 'pale yellow' (so Lewis & Short), but this can hardly be the colour Apuleius has in mind. Perhaps 'faintly purple' or 'pinkish'. Cf. 'luteus' = 'flame-coloured' or 'rose-coloured' (Lewis & Short s.v.). color psittaco uiridis. Pliny loc. cit. uiridem toto corpore; Solinus 52 43 colore uiridem; Statius Silvae II 4 25 plagae uiridis regnator Eoae; Ovid Am. II 6 21 tu poteris fragiles pinnis hebetare smaragdos.

12 p.16 23 intimis plumulis et extimis palmulis. If palmulis is accepted, the word is being used in a unique sense for 'wing and tail feathers', cf. its use for the blade of an oar at Catullus IV 4 and 17. Oudendorp compares the Greek ταρσός πτερύγων (see Liddell & Scott s.v. ταρσός). Elsewhere Apuleius has 'palmula' in the sense of hand only, and at Metam. III 24 the phrase 'in extimis palmulis' means 'at the ends of the hands'. Lipsius' parmulis seems quite fanciful and improbable, but Salmasius' pinrulis is worth serious consideration, since it would give an antithesis which occurs twice in the metamorphoses to distinguish the (stiff) outer feathers from the inner (downy) feathers: III 21 promicant molles plumulae, crescunt et fortes pinmulae; ibid. 24 nec ullae plumulae nec usquam pinmulae. Elsewhere 'pinmulae' are 'little wings', Metam. X 30, Apol. 63. The softly quivering outer feathers of Cupid's wings are 'plumulae' at Metam. V 22. Although pinrulis might be regarded as 'lectio facillior', it nevertheless gives a clearer sense and a more recognisable antithesis with plumulis.

12 p.16 24 sola ceruice distinguitur. Cf. Pliny loc. cit. torque tantum miniato in ceruice distinctam. Apuleius' next sentence divides and elaborates Pliny's 'torque miniato' ('torque puniceo', Solinus). enimvero. Here explanatory and confirmatory, see note on 'enimvero' at 2 p.2 13 above. circulo mineo uelut aurea torqui pari fulgoris circumactu. 'mineus' (from 'minium' = 'cinnabar') appears first in Apuleius; cf. Metam. IV 2 rosarum mineus color (Kretschmann p.52, Koziol p.275). torqui is the old form of the i-stem ablative (cf. igni, turri, Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I p.274). circumactu: usually with an idea of motion ('rotation'), cf. De Mundo 29 omne caelum simplici circumactu uoluat; here = 'encircling band', cf. Martianus Capella VI 693 circumactu uallium auras nesciunt pestilentes. pari must mean 'level', 'matching' (i.e. 'uniform'), a use of the word which, as referring to a single object, appears to be unparalleled. The double use of the instrumental ablative may also be felt as awkward. Rohde accordingly proposed circulo mineo uelut aureae torquis rari fulgoris circumactu. I would myself suggest uarii for pari, on the supposition that Apuleius is attempting to describe the iridescence of the colour on the bird's neck, which, as it changes from crimson to gold, gives the effect of a rotary movement expressed in circumactu. The two colour words mineo and aurea, though not necessarily in conflict, introduce a complexity and richness into Apuleius' description which is absent from the briefer versions of Pliny and Solinus.

12 p.17 2 rostri prima duritia. Cf. 4 below, et capitis eadem duritia quae rostri. Again Apuleius divides what Pliny mentions briefly in a single sentence: capiti eius duritia eadem quae rostro. Apuleius also reverses Pliny's order by taking the hardness of the beak before that of the head, in which he is followed by Solinus. prima. For Apuleius' use of 'primus' in the sense of 'primarius' or 'praestans', see

Kretschmann p.56. cum in petram quamvis concitus altissimo uolatu praecipitat, rostro se uelut anchora excipit. Pliny (X 117) cum deuolat, rostro se excipit, illi innititur leuioremque ita se pedum infirmitati facit. The additional detail — high flight, landing upon a rock, and the anchor image — is either from Apuleius' imagination, or from some source other than Pliny. Solinus appears to conflate the two accounts (52 43) sola India mittit auem psittacum colore uiridem torque puniceo, cuius rostri tanta duritia est, ut cum e sublimi praecipitat in saxum, nisu se oris excipiat et quodam quasi fundamento utatur extraordinariae firmitatis. The idea of the parrot checking itself by its beak may possibly have arisen from the use the bird makes of its beak in climbing. petram is a Graecism also affected by Pliny, e.g. N.H. X 91 gaviae in petris nidificant (Kretschmann p.69).

12 p.17 5 cum sermonem nostrum ... ut persentiscat. Pliny X 117 hoc, cum loqui discit, ferreo uerberatur radio: non sentit aliter ictus. Solinus 52 44 caput uero tam ualens, ut si quando ad discendum plagis sit admonendus (nam studet ut quod homines loquatur), ferrea clauicula sit uerberandus. caput tunditur. Geisau (Indogermanische Forschungen XXXVI p.84) takes caput as a change of subject rather than as accusative of respect, comparing a similar change at Fl. 16 p.25 16 manus uolumini implexa. tunditur is used with humorous effect, as compared with Pliny's 'uerberatur'. Solinus echoes Pliny with 'uerberandus', but adopts Apuleius' word clauicula (diminutive of 'claua' not 'clavis', Ernout-Millet p.125). persentiscat is mainly pre-classical, cf. Ter. Haut. 916 possem persentiscere / ni essem lapis.

12 p.17 7 haec discenti ferula est. Kougaret (Revue des Etudes Latines VI pp.45-6) considers this clause to be a gloss on clauicula, which is found only in these two instances in Apuleius and Solinus. It can be inferred from Solinus' version, however, that the comparison to the schoolboy was already present in Apuleius.

12 p.17 7 discit autem statim pullus. statim is used here like εὐτόϋ with participle in Greek; cf. Cicero Or. 35 hoc sum aggressus statim Catone absoluto; Pliny N.H. XVIII 80 rapitur omne (sc. hordeum) a prima statim maturitate. usque ad duos aetati, suae annos. From this point, Apuleius and Solinus repeat part of Pliny's account of the magpie (pica), but again reversing Pliny's order. Pliny N.H. X 119 uerum addiscere alias negant posse quam ex genere earum quae glande uescantur, et inter eas facilius quibus quini sint digiti in pedibus, ac ne eas quidem ipsas nisi primis duobus uitae annis. latior his est lingua omnibusque in suo cuique genere quae sermonem imitantur humanum, quamquam id paene in omnibus contingit. Solinus 52 44 (continuing his description of the parrot) dum in pullo est atque adeo intra alterum aetatis suae annum quae monstrata sunt et citius discit et retinet tenacius; paulo senior et obliuiosus est et indocilis. 45 inter nobiles et ignobiles discretionem digitorum facit numerus: qui praestant, quinos in pedes habent digitos, ceteri ternos. lingua lata multoque latior quam ceteris auibus: unde perficitur, ut articulata uerba penitus eloquatur. Apuleius' error in attributing to the parrot what Pliny says of the magpie can be accounted for by supposing that the section in Pliny where the magpie is mentioned by name (X 118) was somehow suppressed in the copy Apuleius was using (possibly an abbreviated version or, as Mommsen suggested, the work of one who was both 'epit^omator' and 'amplificator').

12 p.17 8 dum facile os, uti conformetur. Cf. Plutarch Sollert. Anim. XIX (972F) τὸ τῆς φωνῆς πνεῦμα τοῖς διδάσκουσιν ἐκπλαστον οὕτω καὶ μιμηλὸν ἐξαριθμεῖν καὶ ῥυθμιζεῖν παρέχοντες (of talking birds). dum tenera lingua, ut comi'bre'tur. 'comi'brare' is here used in the passive for the sake of balance with conformetur. Apuleius uses the active intransitively at De Mundo 15 ignes ... dicto citius nostrae uisioni comi'brant; cf. a citation in Festus 266 11 exiluit quasi petulcus quidam pedibus comi'brauit (Koziol pp.291 and 312). The detail added here (not in Pliny or Solinus) could easily be inferred as characteristic of a young bird.

12 p.17 9 senex autem captus. After two years, senex would appear to be an overstatement; Solinus has 'paulo senior'. Elmenhorst refers to Olympiodorus 112 who speaks of a life span of as much as twenty years for the parrot. senex is, however, explained by indocilis and obliuiosus, which suggest senility. Brantius wrote captu for captus, but cf. line 25 below: quam primum in suas siluas remittendus est.

12 p.17 12 quini digituli. Apuleius prefers the diminutive, where both Pliny and Solinus have 'digiti', and makes explicit the obvious parallel 'ut hominis', whereas Solinus mentions the usual number (three).

12 p.17 14 lingua latior quam ceteris auibus. Pliny N.H. X 119 attributes this characteristic to all talking birds (see note under 'discit autem statim pullus' at 12 p.17 7 above). Cf. Arist. H.A. VIII 12 ὅλως δὲ τὰ γαμψώνυχα πάντα ... πλατύγλωττα καὶ μιμητικὰ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ 'Ἰνδικὸν ὄρνεον ἡ ψιττάκη, τὸ λεγόμενον ἀνθρώπογλωττον, τοιοῦτον ἐστὶ. eo facilius u rba hominis articulant. The earlier view of the parrot

seems to have been that it could actually talk like a man and be taught a language; cf. Ctesias (c.400 B.C.) as reported in Photius Bibl. 45 a
καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀρνέου τοῦ βυττάκου, ὅτι γλῶσσαν ἀνθρωπίνην
ἔχει καὶ φωνήν ... διαλέγεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸ ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον
Ἰνδοιστί, ὃν δὲ ἑλληνιστί μάθη, καὶ ἑλληνιστί.

Similarly Arrian Indica XV 8 reports that Nearchus made a marvel out of the parrot and its ability to utter human speech. plectro: sc. the tongue. Cf. Cicero N.D. II 149 lingua ... sonos uocis distinctos et pressos efficit cum et dentes et alias partes pellit oris. itaque plectri similem linguam nostri solent dicere. See A. S. Pease's commentary ad loc. for further references, and Purser in Hermathena XVI p.151.

12 p.17 17 uocem si audias, hominem putes. Cf. Isidorus Orig. XII 7 24 et articulata uerba exprimit, ita ut si eam non uideris, hominem loqui putes. Brantius compares Martial XIV 76 (of the magpie) si me non uideas, esse negabis auem.

12 p.17 18 nam <coruum> quidem si audias, id est crocitare, non loqui.
This is an uncertain sentence which has been rewritten in many ways (see Helm's app.crit. to which may be added id est sonare by H. Armini in Eranos XXVI 1926 p.331). The addition of coruum or coruinam at some point in the sentence provides an object for audias and prepares the way for the otherwise sudden introduction of coruus in the sentence following. Helm supports his conjecture crocitare (or croccire) with De deo Socr. prol. 4 (fin.) coruus ut se uocalem probaret ... groccire adortus; Plautus ul. 625 uoce croccibat sua. V. Coulon in Revue de Philologie XLIX 1925 pp.21-2 (cf. Purser in Hermathena XIV p.404) argues from Apuleius' use of nam quidem elsewhere (e.g. Apol. 7 and 33) that these words must not be separated; he accordingly proposes nam

quidem coruinam, while accepting Helm's id est crocitare for id est idem conate. Others prefer conari or conantem (or both, Purser; with crocitare, van der Vliet); cf. Persius prol. 8-9 quis expediuit psittaco suum chaere / picamque docuit nostra uerba conari? For id est (Fulvius) in place of idem, see note on 'idem probe eruditi' at 7 p.9 8 above. My own view is that si audias has been wrongly repeated from the previous sentence, thus displacing the true reading, and that the antithesis here is more likely to be between the parrot and other talking birds than between the parrot and the raven, which is mentioned by way of example in the next sentence. I suggest, therefore, nam quidem alias idem conantes non loqui, understanding putes from the earlier part of the sentence; or if this is felt to be too harsh, I would follow Novak in supplying dicas before idem.

12 p.17 19 uerum enim uero: here strongly adversative, 'but for all that'; see note on 'uerum enim uero celebrior fama obtinet' at 15 p.21 16 below.

et coruus et psittacus nihil aliud quam quod didicerunt pronuntiant.

For a talking raven, see Pliny N.H. X 121 ff. Apuleius seems to be denying, not the natural imitativeness of these birds, but their knowledge of what they are saying. Martial makes an exception in the case of 'Hail, Caesar' (Art. XIV 73, taken seriously by Isidorus Orig. loc. cit.). Cf. Statius Silvae II 4 7 adfatus etiam mentitataque uerba / reddideras.

12 p.17 21 diebus ac noctibus. Cf. Caesar C.C. I 11 1 continuato nocte ac die itinere; the plural is less usual in this sense, and seems more or less equivalent to expressions in the accusative, e.g. Ennius ap. Cic. Gen. I 1 sollicitari te Tite sic noctesque diesque. For the ablative of

duration of time, see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.360. perstreperis
maledictis. Aristotle, followed by Pliny, attributes wantonness
 in a parrot to drink: L.A. V.II 12 καὶ ἀνολαστότερον δὲ γίνεται,
 ὅταν πίνῃ οἶνον. Pliny N.H. X 117 quae accipit uerba promuntiat,
 in uino praecipue lasciur.

12 p.17 22 hanc outat cantionem. For the attraction of the demonstrative
 see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.34. cantionem, i.e. pleasant singing (cf.
 Plaut. Stich. 760 lepidam et suauem cantionem aliquam occipito), is
 contrasted with cantilenam at 23 below, used in the sense of an oft
 repeated strain, hence of repetitious prattle; Terence Phorm. 495
 cantilenam eandem canis; Cicero Att. I 19 8 ut crebro mihi insusurret
 cantilenam illam suam; cf. Otto, Sprichwörter Röm. p.73. denuo
 occurs in Plautus, Terence and Cicero, but is rare elsewhere until
 Apuleius; Thes. Ling. Lat. V 1 p.557.

12 p.17 24 si carere conuicio uelis. 'carere' in the sense 'to be rid of'
 seems to occur here only in Apuleius. Cf. Sil. Ital. XVII 210 contentus
 caruisse Noto. Neither alternative for dealing with the nuisance is
 seriously meant (a tongueless parrot would have little value and his
 native woods are a long way off), but together they constitute a warning
 against teaching bad language to a parrot. (The senseless abuse of
 Apuleius' rivals cannot, perhaps, be dealt with so simply.)

FLORIDA 13

Apuleius remarks on the superiority of the speech of a philosopher like himself over the calls of various birds, which are limited to set times, and to certain tone qualities, while the philosopher's message is universal in time and content. For the didactic associations of the kind of list that the comparison evokes, see Introduction p.41. The elaboration of the passage suggests that it may be classed as one of the shorter 'model' pieces (cf. Fl. 1 and Introduction pp.18 and 21).

13 p.17 26 mihi philosophia ... largita est. Cf. 'philosophia me docuit' at 9 p.14 10 above. id genus orationem. See note on 'hoc genus crimina' at 3 p.5 7 above.

13 p.17 27 ut natura quibusdam auibus. The lists which follow are, however, contrived in a thoroughly artificial manner. In particular, the distinctions of time which Apuleius makes seem to be based, in some cases at least, on literary references rather than the dispensations of nature. breuem et temporarium. Here 'temporarius' = 'at set times of day (or night)'. Cf. Pliny XVIII 249 cantus alitis temporariae quam cuculum uocant, where the word means 'seasonal'. At Metam. XI 19 intra conseptum templi larem temporarium mihi constituo, the meaning is 'temporary'.

13 p.18 1 hirundinibus matutinum. Cf. Anacreontea 10 (of the swallow)
 τί μεν καλῶν ὀνείρων / ὑποφρίαισι φωναῖς / ἀφήρπασας βάθυλλον;
 Nonnos Dionys. III 13 ὄρεφριον ὕκνον ἄμερσε γάλος τρύζουσα χελιδών.
 Ausonius II 1 2 iam strepit nidis uigilax hirundo. Artemidorus (66 p.158) states that the swallow never sings in the evening, but at dawn when the sun is rising.

13 p.18 2 cicadis meridianum. In the first place, the cicada is not a bird (the list is summed up as 'haec animalia' at 3 below); in the second place, it does not sing only at midday. The cicada's song is, however, the most typical natural sound of the noonday heat, especially in the poets. Cf. Virgil Ecl. II 13 sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis; Georg. III 328. See A. S. F. Gow's Commentary on Theocritus V 110 f. (p.112) for references in Greek literature.

13 p.18 2 noctuis serum, ululis uespertinum, bubonibus nocturnum. Again the facts are stretched to fit the artistic aims of this passage. As Pliny states (N.H. X 34), the 'noctua', 'ulula' and 'bubo' are all night birds, whereas Apuleius seems to imply here that they sing at different times either just before or after dark. serum is taken from Virgil, cf. Georg. I 402-3 solis et occasum seruans de culmine summo / nequiquam seros exercet noctua cantus; Aen. XII 864 nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras. Varro L.L. V 76 derives the name of the 'noctua' from the fact that it sings at night: ut noctua, quod noctu canit ac uigilat; cf. Ernout-Meillet p.448. (The 'noctua' is the small owl, the 'ulula' the screech-owl, and 'bubo' the large horned owl; according to Varro (ibid. 75), the last two are named from their cries).

13 p.18 3 gallis antelucanum. Cf. Juvenal IX 107-8, Horace, Sat. I 1 10, Martial IX 68 3. The fourth watch of the night was called 'gallicinium'; Apul. Metam. VIII 1, Petronius Sat. 62. Cf. Pliny N.H. X 46 quartaque castrensi uigilia ad curas laboremque reuocant nec solis ortum incautis patiuntur obrepere. Cf. Cic. Tusc. IV 44 antelucana ... industria.

13 p.18 4 occinunt. Livy uses 'occinere' of an unfavourable omen at VI 41 8 quid enim est si pulli non pascentur ... si occinerit ausis? But at X 40 14 the omen is, apparently, favourable: ante consulem haec dicentem corvus uoce clara occinuit, quo laetus augurio consuli etc. Apuleius uses the word without any such implications, purely for stylistic effect with occipiunt.

13 p.18 5 scilicet. 'Namely', 'that is to say'. The word is post-Augustan in this sense, cf. Suetonius Aug. 29 4 quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque fecit. galli expergifico. The order of the list is now reversed. The adjective 'expergificus' is Apuleian and ^{apart from one glossary instance} found here only (Kretschmann p. 53, Koziol p. 274), but Gellius has the verb 'expergificare' at XVII 12 1 materias ... ingenio expergificando idoneas. For the rousing call of the cock, cf. Cicero Mur. 22, Pliny N.H. X 46, Plato Symp. 223 c.

13 p.18 5 bubones gemulo, ululae querulo. 'gemulus' (here only) is coined by Apuleius on the analogy of 'tremulus', 'querulus', 'stridulus', etc.; such adjectives are especially frequent as derived from verbs of sound (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I p. 217). The total effect is markedly onomatopoeic, but it may be doubted whether any real difference in sound quality is indicated by gemulo and querulo respectively. Cf. Pliny N.H. X 34 bubo funebris et maxime abominatus ... nec cantu uocalis sed gemitu. Seneca Herc. Fur. 687 hic uultur, illic luctifer bubo gemit. Apuleius uses 'querulus' of the cry of the 'bubo' at Metam. III 21 fit bubo Pamphile. sic edito stridore querulo ... etc. Cf. Virgil Aen. IV 462-3 solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo / saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere uoces. Servius (ad loc.) comments: cantus autem eius aut fletum imitatur aut gemitum. Isidorus echoes this in his note on the 'ulula',

Orig. XII 7 28 ulula auis ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀλοῦσθαι, id est a planctu et luctu nominata. cum enim clamat aut fletum imitatur aut gemit.

See note on 'Lydiū querulū' at 4 p.5 15 above.

13 p.18 6 noctuae intorto. Of sound, 'intortus' is usually translated 'prolonged', 'trailing' ('gedehnt', Koziol p.296). Pliny uses the word in his description of the nightingale's song at N.H. X 81, where it appears to be contrasted with 'concisus': modulatus editur somis, et nunc continuo spiritu trahitur in longum, nunc uariatur inflexo, nunc distinguitur conciso, copulatur intorto, promittitur reuocato. Of the 'noctua', Pliny ibid. 39 quotes Nigidius Figulus (d. 45 B.C.) as saying that it has nine notes: nouem habere uoces tradit Nigidius.

13 p.18 6 obstrepero. Apuleian and here only (Koziol p.275). Ernout-Meillet p.656 s.v. strepo also give 'streperus', but there seems to be no clear parallel for this formation. The reading of F and φ obstreporo is supported by H. Armini (Eranos XXVI 1928 p.331), who cites 'canorus', 'sonorus', 'saporus', 'decorus', 'sudorus', etc.

13 p.18 6 perarguto. As applied to sound, the word is Apuleian. Cf. Virgil Georg. I 377 aut arguta lacus circumuolitant hirundo. Cicero uses the intensive 'perargutus' in the sense of 'witty' at Brut. 167.

13 p.18 7 ratio et oratio. Cicero Off. I 50 uses the same phrase in the sense of 'reason and the power of speech', which form the basis of human society and distinguish men from beasts: eius autem uinculum est ratio et oratio, quae ... conciliat inter se homines coniungitque naturali

quadam societate; neque ulla re longius absumus a natura ferarum ...
sunt enim rationis et orationis expertes. Although Apuleius uses ratio
et oratio here in a similar contrast with animals, he applies it in a
more particular sense to the 'rational discourse' or 'reasoned speech'
of the philosopher. The two words are found together, but with a
different meaning, at Fl. 18 p.34 11 nihil amplius spectari debet quam
conuenientiam ratio et dicentis oratio; and in a sense similar to
Cicero's above at De deo Socr. 4, De Plat. I 14.

13 p.18 7 tempore iugis est ... et modo omnica. For the ablatives of
respect, cf. Apol. 7 est enim ea pars hominis (sc. os) loco celsa, usu
prompta, usu fecunda. iugis, used in the classical period especially of
running water, = 'never-failing', 'constant': cf. De Mundo 12 iugi
perseuerantia; Gellius XII 8 6 iugi concordia. Apuleius also introduces
the adverb 'iugiter' at De Mundo 30 machinam omnem iugiter per circuitum
suis legibus terminatam. auditu ... intellectu. Both verbal nouns are
linked directly with the new subject, ratio et oratio, whereas tempore
and modo are carried over from the comparison with bird-songs. omnica
(Apuleian and here only) contrasts with 'uario modo occinunt', but is
used figuratively in the sense of 'universal', 'dealing with all subjects'.
For Latin compounds in omni- (based on Greek compounds in παν-), see
Ernout-Meillet p. 461, Walde-Hofmann II p. 209. Cf. IG IV² 1 130 21
(one of the Epidaurian hymns) πανψόδος ἀχῶ.

FLORIDA 14

A fragment on the Cynic philosopher Crates of Thebes: his rejection of his wealth, and his *κννογαμία* with Hipparchia. Apuleius touches on the first of these subjects at Apol. 22, and again in Fl. 22, which looks so much like the earlier part of the present story that some older editors (Elmenhorst, Scriverius and Floridus) transfer Fl. 22 to the beginning of Fl. 14, making a single passage. See Introduction pp. 16-17 and 25. But Apuleius seems to have had more than a passing interest in the Cynic philosophers (cf. Apol. 22), and may have spoken about them on several occasions. For Crates, see D. R. Dudley, A History of Cynicism, pp. 42-53.

14 p.18 10 hoc genus alia. Cf. Apol. 9 ut taceam scripta Diogenis Cynici et Zenonis Stoicae sectae conditoris, id genus plurima. See note on 'hoc genus crimina' at 3 p.5 7.

14 p.18 10 partim ... alia/s. Helm accepts Wowerius' alia for MS alias, referring to De deo Socr. 1 deos caelites partim uisu usurpamus, alios intellectu uestigamus; De Plat. II 1 partim diuina per se ... duci bona, alia hominum nec eadem omnium existimari. Cf. Cicero N.D. I 103 bestiarum autem terrenae sunt aliae, partim aquatiles, aliae quasi ancipites in utraque sede uiuentes. ^{Oudendorp} Vallette follows earlier editors in retaining alias (adverb). For 'partim ... alias', cf. Gellius II 22 1 apud mensam Falorini in conuiuio familiari legi solitum erat aut uetus carmen melici poetae aut historia partim Graecae linguae, alias Latinae. cum audiret a Diogene. In one version of the story reported by Diogenes Laertius (VI 87), Crates was persuaded by Diogenes to get rid of his

possessions (see note on 'rem familiarem abicit' below); in another, attributed to Antisthenes of Rhodes, he was inspired by seeing a tragic Telephus (see A. Nauck, Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, p.580).

suggereret: 'furnish', 'add'; the word is commonly used of supporting argument or additional matter, cf. Cicero N.D. III 73 huic incredibili sententiae ratiunculas suggerit; De Orat. II 117 atque isti quidem qui docent, cum causas in plura genera secuerunt, singulis generibus argumentorum copiam suggerunt.

14 p.18 11 denique. See note on 'denique quantumvis morae ... insumunt' at 21 p.42 18. rem familiarem abicit. Cf. Apol. 22 ultro diuitiis abiectis; Valerius Maximus IX 1 2 amplissimam patrimoniam tamquam amaram aliquam sarcinam quam celerrime abicere. Diogenes Laertius VI 87-8 gives three versions of what Crates actually did with his property. (1) In the version attributed to Antisthenes, he turned it into money and distributed this among his fellow citizens. (2) According to Demetrius of Magnesia, the money was deposited with a banker, to be paid to his sons, unless they too became philosophers, in which case it was to be distributed to the people. (3) In the version of Diocles of Magnesia, Diogenes persuaded him to let his land go for sheep-pasture, and to throw whatever money he had into the sea. (Cf. Philostratus Apoll. Tyan. I 13 and the Souda). In Apol. 22 Apuleius adopts the first of these versions: rem familiarem largam et uberem populo donauit. Here in Fl. 14 Crates is partly persuaded by Diogenes, but it is not made clear what is done with the property, since the scene in the market-place can be associated with either tale; see H. Diels, Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta, p.222.

14 p.18 12 uelut onus stercoris. Wowerius wrote tergoris, but Helm refers to Otto op.cit. p.202, who cites Plautus Truc. 556-7 qui bona sua pro stercore habet, / foras iubet ferri. Lucilius XI 6 (Marx 399; Warmington, Remains of Old Latin III p.136) quod omnes / extra castra ut stercus foras eiecit ad unum. magis labori quam usui. Apuleius here stresses the philosophical viewpoint, which is carried to extremes in the tale that Crates threw the money into the sea; if he gave it to the people or reserved it for his sons, he showed that he did not regard it as having absolutely no use at all. For the adnominal datives, see note on 'esui ... uel laniatui' 2 p.3 7 above. Though verbal nouns occur in this construction (e.g. linteum extersui, Plaut. Curc. 556), the present example seems closer to an ordinary predicative dative, as if some part of 'esse' were understood.

14 p.18 13 maximum exclamat. Cf. Plaut. Most. 488 exclamat derepente maximum. Cic. Tusc. II 56 exclamare maius. 'Crates', inquit. For 'inquit' used pleonastically after a verb of speaking, cf. Plaut. Mil. Glor. 178 ubi abit, conclamo: 'heus quid agis tu' inquam 'in tegulis?' Livy VII 16 5 exclamat 'adspice, imperator' inquit. Geisau, Indogermanische Forschungen XXXVI 1916 p.75, considers this pleonastic use of 'inquit' to be a Graecism, but E. Kieckers in Glossa X 1920 p.200 ff. points out that it is a feature found independently in many European languages, including Chaucer and Mediaeval Welsh.

14 p.18 14 'Crate/s/te(n) manu mitt<it>.' Helm follows Oudendorp in accepting Fulvius' Cratetem manumittit for MS Crates te manumittes.

The dative Crateti appears in Varro L.L. VIII 64 (referring to Crates the grammarian). Scriverius has Cratem, Krüger manumittet. Nougaret, Revue des Etudes Latines VI p.42 f., proposes 'Crates', inquit, 'Cratete. Thebarum manumittes'. Crates' own words, as given by Gregory of Nazianzus Carm.de Virt. 234 and the Suda (Diels, Frag. Poet. Philos. pp.222-3) were ἐλευθεροῖ κράτητα ἑμαυτον κράτης.

Cf. Simplicius In Epict. Ench. p.65 (Diels ibid.) Κράτης

Κράτητα χρημάτων ἀποστερεῖ. Helm in his addenda p.51

proposes as an alternative to accept the MS reading punctuated as follows: 'Crates', inquit, 'Crates! te manumittes' (i.e. the first Crates is nominative and the second vocative). But there seems little point in multiplying variants of this sentence. Simplicius (loc.cit.) states that Crates actually put on a garland to celebrate the occasion, as if obtaining his freedom.

14 p.18 14 et exinde. et is the insertion of Rohde (Rhein. Mus. XL 1885 p.111) not of Helm, as erroneously stated in the latter's app. crit. Helm now proposes to omit et (addenda p.51). Cf. Metam. VII 2 cum eadem nocte ... profugisset nec exinde compareret. non modo solus, uerum nudus et liber omnium. solus means without a household or servants, cf. Apol. 22 multis seruis a se remotis solitatem delegit. nudus = 'destitute of possessions', as at Apol. 92 quippe ipse egens, nudus ... filiam dotauit. Cf. Ansonius VI Epit. 30 4 (Diogenes in the underworld) nudus eram: sic sum. nil habui: hoc habeo. For the genitive omnium, cf. Fl. 6 p.6 7 frugum pauperes Ityraeos; Sallust Iug. 57 nullius idoneae rei egens.

14 p.18 15 quoad uixit, beate uixit. 'quoad uixit' is a stereotyped phrase (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.654) which influences the tense of the main verb; cf. Horace Sat. II 3 91 f. quoad uixit credidit ingens / pauperiem uitium et cauit nihil acrius. Cf. Petronius Sat. 43 1 honeste uixit, honeste obiit.

14 p.18 16 eius cupiebatur. For the genitive, cf. Plautus Mil. Glor. 963 qui ingemuis sati' respondere nequeas, quae cupiunt tui; Trin. 842 domi cupio (O.C.T. domum); Caecilius ap. Cist. N.D. III 72 (Ribb. 201) qui te nec amet nec studeat tui. See Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.81, Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.474. The marginal addition uita in F (not in ϕ) is presumably an attempt to improve both grammar and sense. Cf. Diog. Laert. VI 96 ἥρα τοῦ Κράτητος καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τοῦ βίου.

14 p.18 16 uirgo nobilis. The story of Hipparchia (or Hipparche, as Apuleius calls her here) is told by Diog. Laert. VI 96 f. Like her brother Metrocles (a pupil of Theophrastus who was converted to Cynicism by Crates) she came from Maroneia in Thrace, though the events related appear to take place in Athens. Since she threatened suicide if she were not given to Crates, her parents appealed to him to dissuade her. When argument failed, he took off his clothes in front of her with the memorable words: 'Here is your bridegroom and here are his possessions; make your choice accordingly'. For she could not (Diogenes adds) be his partner unless she shared his way of life. So Epictetus III 22 76 calls her 'another Crates' (Dudley op.cit. p.221). spretis iunioribus ac ditioribus procis. Diogenes says that Hipparchia scorned wealth, rank and beauty in her other suitors. 'iunioribus'

probably implies that she was younger than Crates, though in rank he was no doubt her equal; cf. Apol. 22 uir domi inter Thebanos diues et nobilis.

14 p.18 17 ultron(ea) eum sibi optauerit. Hildebrand's ultronea eum seems nearer to the MS reading ultroneum than the vulgate ultro eum, though the meaning is not very different. Apuleius uses 'ultroneus' (probably his own coinage) in contexts which indicate that the willingness is somehow surprising or unnatural; cf. Metam. II 30 ultroneus gradiens (of a youth under a magical spell); VIII 14 ultronea uictima (of a suicide); I 19 ultroneum exilium.

14 p.18 17 interscapulum. Helm, following Oudendorp, retains the MS reading. interscapilium, Scaliger. Both forms are attested in the Corp. Gloss. Lat. VI p. 597, = μετάρρενον. Facciolati, Totius Latinitatis Lexicon, cites Hyginus Astron. II 1 in summo interscapilio, but observes that interscapulum occurs at Caelius Aurelianus Tard. I 4; cf. ibid. I 6 (cited by Oudendorp) usque ad interscapulum, quod Graeci μετάρρενον uocant. It would seem that van der Vliet's interscapulium is not attested. For the formation of late compounds in inter-, see Ernout-Meillet p. 313.

14 p.18 18 quod erat aucto gibbere. Ablative of description. 'auctus' in an adjectival sense (^{'large'} ~~'enlarged'~~), although not uncommon as a comparative ('auctior', e.g. Lucr. III 450, Livy III 68 4), is not found elsewhere in the positive, hence emendations: auctum, Floridus; auctus, van der Vliet. Purser (Hermathena XIV p. 405) defends acuto against Burmannus' alto. For other conjectures see Helm app. crit. Diogenes Laertius does not explicitly state that Crates was a hunchback, though this seems to be implied by the verse of Crates which he quotes at VI 92 (as emended by

Diels op.cit. p.220) στείχεις δὴ, φίλε κυρτων, εἰς 'Αἰδοιο δόμους.
He does say, however (91), that Crates was ugly in appearance and was laughed at when exercising in the gymnasium, which suggests some physical deformity.

14 p.18 19 peram cum baculo. Cf. Apol. 22 peram et baculum ... non sunt quidem ista Platonicae sectae gestamina, sed Cynicae familiae insignia. The Cynics, in professing a life of poverty, assumed the traditional gear of the beggar, cf. Homer Od. XIII 437. et pallium. See note on 'pallio cadauera operiri et philosophos amiciri' at 4 p.5 25 above. eamque supellectilem. Cf. Apol. 22 quod utinam tantus animi forem, ut praeter eam supellectilem nihil quicquam requirerem. quam uiderat. Oudendorp reads uideret, with the comment 'tunc enim uidebat Hipparche, dum Crates loquebatur'. If uiderat is retained, it must be regarded as an insertion of the author not included in the Oratio Obliqua (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.547 f.).

14 p.19 2 ne post querelae causam caperet. The reading of F and Φ is querelam eam, or possibly querela eam (see Helm crit. app.), which is the vulgate reading. Colvius suggested querelae causam, accepted by Helm (querelae ansam, Oudendorp). Van der Vliet has querulam eam ('so that he might not catch her complaining'). Vallette with Elmenhorst and Sriverius reads querela eam, which gives a reasonable meaning provided that 'querela' is understood in a general sense ('complaining', 'mood of complaint'; cf. Livy XXI 16 2 tantusque simul maeror patres ... cepit). The MS reading querelam eam might perhaps be acceptable in the meaning 'make it a ground of complaint', but the repetition of eam seems weak. It has occurred to me that querelam ullam

would make a better collocation, especially in the context of the domestic quarrel; cf. Ovid Fasti V 206 inque meo non est ulla querela toro; Apul. Metam. II 3 absit ... ut Milonem hospitem sine ulla querela deseram. Colvius refers also to the common form of funereal inscriptions which end 'cum qua uixit annos ... sine ulla querela' (e.g. CIL VI 13574). caperet: 'form', 'entertain'. Purser suggests querelam ea inciperet.

14 p.19 2 enimvero Hipparche. As Helm notes in his critical apparatus, the main verb in the previous part of the sentence appears to be missing. Either it is somehow understood with consuleret, or there is in fact a hiatus; otherwise accipit would have to be regarded as the main verb, to which the cum-clauses are leading up, but the introductory enimvero seems to preclude that possibility.¹ condicionem accipit. Purser suggests accepit, in view of respondit below, which Krüger (contrariwise) changes to respondet. The tenses of the main verbs vary throughout between perfect and historic present. condicionem is used here in a double sense: Hipparche accepted Crates' terms, and she accepted the match. For 'condicio' as the technical expression for the as yet unwritten marriage pact, see F. Norden, Apuleius von Madaura und das römische Privatrecht p.92. Cf. Apol. 73 si me ... ad aliam condicionem reseruarem; ibid. 68 quam condicionem cum obstinate propositam uideret.

14 p.19 3 sibi prouisum satis et satis consultum. For the repetition of satis see Becker, Studia Apuleiana p.41 ff. consultum echoes 'consuleret', and prouisum the sense of 'ne post ... caperet', but if, as Helm suggests, some 'uerbum monendi' was originally part of the earlier sentence, the reference might have been clearer. neque ditiozem

¹ But cf. Livy I 51 8 cum gladii abditis protaherentur, enimvero manifesta res uisa, VI 14 12 quae ubi obiecta spes est, enimvero indignum facinus uidetur.

maritum neque formosiores. A hint of the Stoic doctrine that only the wise man is rich and beautiful, cf. Cicero Fin. III 75. uspiam gentium. Cf. Fl. 16 p.25 12 and Metam. V 26 nec uspiam ruris reperitur ille.

14 p.19 5 dux<it> Cynicus in porticum. duxit (Stewechius) is the simplest correction of MS dux. Like 'condicionem' above, the verb is used with a double reference, sc. uxorem domui ducere (Plautus Anl. 31, cf. scorta ducere Most. 35 et saepe). Cynicus is probably used deliberately to recall the term κυνογαμία, said to have been applied by Crates himself to this marriage (the Suda s.v. Κράτης). in porticum. If these events took place in Athens, the 'porticus' may well be the στοὰ ποικίλη in which Zeno later taught; hence Zeno's part in the story, which is confined to Apuleius' version, though Diogenes Laertius mentions that he was a pupil of Crates, and in VII 3 assigns him a character that fits in well with this story: ἄλλως μὲν εὐτονος πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, αἰδῆμων δὲ ὥς πρὸς τὴν Κυνικήν ἀναισχυντίαν.

14 p.19 6 ibidem, in loco celebri. ibidem is simply emphatic ('in that very place', 'there and then'), cf. Cicero Rosc. Am. 13 ne hic ibidem ante oculos uestros trucidaretur. Fulvius' ibique is not, therefore, necessary. Dudley op.cit. pp.50-51 comments that 'lurid stories of the nuptials of Crates and Hipparchia appear only in Apuleius ... They may therefore be dismissed with great probability as inventions'. This appears to overlook the plain statement in Diog. Laert. VI 97 ἐν τῷ φανερόῳ συνεγίνετο. It is probably true that the details are furnished by Apuleius' imagination.

14 p.19 6 coram ... coramque: 'openly', 'in public'. The adverbial use of 'coram' was revived by Tacitus and the archaizers (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.259). accubuit. Cf. Plaut. Men. 1142 accub^u_h scortum. uirⁱginem inminuisset. Cf. Plaut. Cist. 86 nec pudicitiam inminuit meam mihi quisquam alius. For a person as object (though in a different sense) cf. Tac. Ann. II 34 quamquam Augusta se uiolari et inminui quereretur.

14 p.19 8 procinctu palliastris. The verbal noun 'procinctus' usually means 'readiness for action' (sc. on the battlefield); cf. the phrase 'in procinctu habere' (Sen. Clem. I 1 4, Quintil. X 1 2). It is hard to see how the word could mean 'protection' or 'screen', which is the sense required here. Koziol (pp.284-6) translates 'Herumgeben', but the word does not mean this. Fulvius suggested proiectu, Oudendorp protentu, neither of which is attested. If procinctu is retained, it might perhaps be taken to mean 'by the prompt use of'. Apuleius uses the word in an almost equally obscure way at Metam. XI 6 sacerdos in ipso procinctu pompae roseam ... gestabit coronam. 'palliastrum' is a diminutive of 'pallium' which appears first in Apuleius, cf. Metam. I 6 scissili palliastro semiamictus. Ernout-Meillet p.476; Walde-Hofmann II p.238.

14 p.19 9 circumstantis coronae obtutu^m magistri in secreto defendisset. F and φ have obtutu, but according to Helm ^{the} ~~and~~ stroke above -u was added by a much later hand in F. Helm's text seems to require both genitives to be taken with obtutum, which, though not impossible, is certainly awkward. For the objective genitive with 'cbutus' cf. Ovid Trist. IV 1 39 obtutu malorum. Hildebrand's

circumstanti turns coronae into a dative, though this would perhaps imply that the crowd was being protected from the sight of Crates rather than the other way round; cf. Horace Carm. I 17 3 defendit aestatem capellis. Thomas (Mnemosyne XLIX 1921 p.52), by omitting in before secreto, which he understands as dative, obtains reasonable sense: 'protected his master's privacy from the gaze of the crowd'. Others read obtutu with either magistrum or magistri secretum (secreta Rohde). The simple ablative is not found elsewhere with 'defendere' (although 'arcere' is so used, e.g. Horace A.P. 64 classes aquilonibus arcet); Oudendorp follows Elmenhort in adding a before circumstantis. If in secreto or secreto (adv.) is retained, it must express the result of the action ('so as to obtain privacy').

FLORIDA 15

Fl. 15 is part of a speech delivered before a proconsul who is addressed but not named in the last sentence ('tuis antecessoribus', p.23 15). The passage opens with a description of Samos and its famous Heraeum, in which Apuleius saw a statue which some wrongly supposed to represent the philosopher Pythagoras, but which Apuleius prefers to take as depicting some young favourite of the tyrant Polycrates. After describing the statue in detail, he passes to Pythagoras' flight from Samos and his travels in search of wisdom, in the course of which he visited many lands and studied with many teachers. This leads to the Pythagorean rule of silence, of which Apuleius claims, as a Platonist, to have learnt the essence, namely to speak and to be silent at the right times, a fact for which, he says, all previous proconsuls would vouch.

The identity of the proconsul is not revealed in the passage, but if, as I argued in the Introduction pp.22-3, the arrangement of the Florida follows a more or less chronological order, the choice would seem to be between Severianus, proconsul 162/3, who is addressed in the second part of Fl. 9, and Scipio Orfitus, proconsul in the following year 163/4, who is addressed in Fl. 17. Since the second part of Fl. 9 is in fact part of a farewell speech to Severianus, the probability is in favour of Scipio Orfitus. The line of thought in Fl. 17 is very similar to the present passage, for Apuleius begins by deploring 'inpatientia linguae' and tactless intrusion upon the great, but goes on to argue that a voice restrained by perpetual silence is as useless as a sword that rusts in its sheath. If, then, Scipio

Orfitus is the person addressed at the end of Fl. 15, one may conclude that Severianus was one of the predecessors who could also vouch for Apuleius' judicious silence: cf. 9 p.14 9 nihil quippe a te impetraui, quia nec postulavi.

15 p.19 11 Icario in mari. According to Pliny N.H. IV 51 'Icarian' is the name given by the Greeks to the sea between Samos and Myconos; Strabo XIV 1 19 (639) says that it is so-called from the island Icaria (or Icarus, west of Samos), which derives its name from Icarus, son of Daedalus, cf. Pliny IV 68, Homer Il. II 145, Herod. VI 96, Hor. Carm. I 1 15 etc. exaduersum Miletos. Scioppius' Mileto was accepted by Oudendorp, as the dative is found with 'exaduersum' elsewhere: Apol. 16 exaduersum soli; Ter. Phorm. 88 exaduersum ei loco (O.C.T. illico). As a preposition, it more often has the accusative; Kühner-Stegmann 2 1 pp.539-40. If the nominative Miletos is retained, exaduersum must be taken as adverb, cf. Fl. 16 p.25 4 sese quisque exaduersum quam proxime collocat; Plaut. Bacch. 835, Cato R.R. 18 3; Kretschmann p.64, Kühner-Stegmann 2 1 p.575. So Helm and Vallette, who place the two words in parenthesis; this makes the reference of eius and ab ea to Miletus more than normally awkward, however.

15 p.19 13 dispescitur. Colvius' emendation of MSS dispicitur and despicitur. Cf. De deo Socr. 4 cum et habitacula summa ab infimis tanta intercapedo fastigii dispescat; Pliny N.H. II 173 maria quibus Africam Europam Asiamque dispescit (oceanus); V 53 inde (Nilus) Africam ab Aethiopia dispescens. (Lewis & Short s.v. attribute to dispesco the past participle dispestae, the reading of the inferior MSS at Metam. IV 26 dispestae disturbataeque nuptiae; this form is, however,

at variance with the etymology of the verb (Ernout-Meillet s.v. parco), and the correct reading is no doubt dispectae (F and φ), which Leo, Analect. Plaut. II p.33, refers to *dispeciscor; see Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v.).

15 p.19 13 utramuis. Oudendorp recorded this anonymous emendation, but retained MS utrumuis. Salmasius proposed utrimuis, Krüger utrouis. Helm supports utramuis with a reference to Landgraf, Archiv für lat. Lexic. X p.397 ff., who cites instances of the simple accusative with a verb of motion in Apuleius, e.g. Metam. II 15 cubiculum meum contendo; IX 41 ciuitatem aduentat. The present instance would also be helped by the fact that utramuis refers to a town and an island which is specifically called 'small' ('modica insula' above). dies alter in portu sistit. Van der Vliet cites Virgil Aen. III 117 tertia lux classem Cretaeis sistet in oris.

15 p.19 14 ager frumento piger, aratro inritus. For piger in the sense of 'infertile', cf. Hor. Carm. I 22 17 f. pone me pigris ubi nulla campis / arbor aestiua recreatur aura. frumento and aratro are ^{probably derivatives} ~~presumably both ablatives~~; cf. Sallust Iug. 17 5 ager ... arbore infecundus.

15 p.19 15 nec uinitori nec hol(it)ori/s/ culpat. This sentence has caused considerable difficulty. The MS reading is nec uinitori • nec holeri sculpat. Most editors agree in reading holitori (olitori Becichemus), though Helm now wishes to read holeris cultori (addenda p.51). Opinion thereafter divides between Becichemus' scalpat for sculpat (so Oudendorp and Vallette) and Rohde's

culpatur (Helm and van der Vliet). Rohde in Rhein. Mus. XL 1885 p.111 argues that scalpitur gives a meaning that is contrary to fact, for Samos produced wine. Against this, Oudendorp and others (e.g. Purser in Hermathena XIV p.406) refer to the statement of Strabo XIV 1 15 (637) that Samos was not εἰσινοῦς, although the nearby islands and mainland were. Virginia Grace of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens was kind enough to send me some notes on Samos, in one of which she suggests that the idea of Samos as wine-producing won acceptance "because Samian wine had a vogue in the 19th century, cf. Byron. It had, however, so far as I can find out, no name in antiquity, no export value. The amphoras represented on Samian coins evidently carried Samian olive oil, which did have a reputation." See J. P. Barron, The Silver Coins of Samos p.7, where the evidence adduced favours this interpretation, and references are given for Samos' fame for oil production: Aesch. Pers. 882 ἐλαιόφυτός τε Σάμος, and Athen. II 74 (66). Cf. fecundior oliueto in the earlier part of Apuleius' sentence. I would therefore accept Becichemus' reading scalpitur, in the sense of 'rake' or 'hoe', with the implication that neither the vine nor vegetable produce were cultivated to any great extent on Samos.

15 p.19 15 ruratio omnis in sarculo et surculo. ruratio is Apuleian, cf. Apol. 56 dis rurationis. For other Apuleian words in -tio (e.g. Fl. 18 p.34 5 marmoratio) see Kretschmann p.37 f. For 'surculus' in the sense of young trees or shrubs, cf. Col. R.R. VII 12 10 sin autem sarculo consitus ager ... est. For the paronomasia sarculo et surculo, cf. 'uolatus ... uolutus' at 10 p.16 10, 'cecinit et cecidit'

at 3 p.5 ll. magis fructuosa quam frugifera. A difference in meaning between these two words (normally synonymous) can be inferred from the context, i.e. 'frugifera' refers to crops derived directly from the earth, as opposed to the produce of trees. Helm, Wiener Studien LXX 1957 p.140, translates: 'die Insel mehr fruchtereich als fruchttragend ist'.

15 p.19 17 ceterum et incolis frequens et hospitibus celebrata. ceterum is either adversative (so Helm in Wiener Studien loc. cit. previous note), or transitional (so Thes. Ling. Lat. III p.970 line 67). Both incolis and hospitibus ('tourists') are ablatives of the agent according to Geisau, Indogermanische Forschungen XXXVI p.93 (i.e. they are instrumental). Cf. Pliny N.H. V 53 feris tamen et beluis frequens (Nilus). ^{For the ablative with 'celebrare' in this manner cf. Cic. Sect 131} ~~The ablative does not seem to be used elsewhere~~ ^{in a multitude celebrabatur, Sil Ital IX 75 celebrata colonis, and} ~~with 'celebrare' in this meaning, but of its use with 'stipare' at~~
Suet. Cal. 51 calonibus et impedimentis stipatos (sc. pontes).
Cic. Mil. 54 uxore paene constrictus.

15 p.19 19 semiruta moenium. For this poetical construction, which became a mannerism of Silver Latin prose, see Bailey's edition of Lucretius vol. I p.94. Here the phrase is equivalent to 'semiruta moenia'. multifariam. See note on 'omnifariam' at 7 p.9 8 above. Cf. Metam. IX 7 multifariam rimis hiantibus quassum; Livy XLIII 41 8 interrupta multifariam acie.

15 p.19 20 enimvero famum Iunonis antiquitus famigeratum. 'enimvero' is here confirmatory rather than adversative, cf. 12 p.16 24. This famous temple, burnt in a Persian raid c.540, was restored under

Polycrates, though the work was never finished; see J. P. Barron, C.Q. XIV (1964) p. 213. Herodotus III 60 4 calls it 'the largest temple of all that we know'; cf. Strabo XIV 1 14 (637). famigeratum: the only other instance ^{before the fourth century} appears to be Pomponius Mela II 112 Crete ... multis famigerata fabulis. The Philoxenus glossary has famigero == διαφημίζω (see Ernout-Meillet p. 214).

15 p.20 1 secundo litore. For 'secundum litus'. Lipsius corrected to secundum littora, but Brantius refers to Sallust Iug. 19 3 ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa diuidit, secundo mari prima Curene est. Cf. the obscure phrase 'secundo sole' quoted from Nigidius Figulus De Vento by Gellius II 22 31. si recte recordor uiam, uiginti haud amplius stadia oppido abest. O. Reuther, Der Heratempel von Samos (1957), has a map (fig. 1) showing the town, the port of Samos, and the 'sacred way' closely following the coast roughly westwards to the temple site. The distance is a little under 4 miles (6 kilometres), i.e. about 34 stades, so that 20 stades would be a serious underestimation. It might therefore be better to adopt the reading of φ aut rather than F haut. If Apuleius was genuinely uncertain about the distance ('si recte recordor uiam'), he is more likely to have used a vague expression, 'twenty or more stades', than a definite one, 'not more than twenty stades'. Moreover the audience is not likely to have expected a greater distance than 20 stades; they may well have expected a shorter distance.

15 p.20 2 donarium. 'Treasure chamber'. Cf. Metam. IX 10 cantharoque et ipso simulacro ... apud fani donarium redditis ac consecratis. Lucan IX 516 nec Enis splendent donaria gemmis. plurima auri et

argenti ratio. For ratio in the more concrete sense of 'amount' that can be measured or counted, cf. Plaut. Trin. 413 em istaec ratio maximast; Truc. 68 ea nimia est ratio. For plurima = 'maxima', cf. Plaut. Rud. 909 plurima praeda omustum; Virg. Georg. III 52 cui plurima ceruix (sc. bos); Apul. Apol. 28 multitudo, quae plurima ... comuenit. in lancibus. 'lances' are the dishes in which the entrails were offered: Virg. Georg. II 194, Aen. XII 215, Ovid Fast. I 454. speculis. Seneca refers to the practice of offering a mirror to Juno at Epist. 95 47 uetemus lintea et strigilem Ioui ferre et speculum tenere Iunoni (Oudendorp ad loc.). For the ritual use of mirrors cf. Metam. XI 9 aliae, quae nitentibus speculis pone tergum reuersis uenienti deae obuium commonstrarent obsequium.

15 p.20 4 cuiuscemodi utensilibus. cuiuscemodi is the reading of F and φ. Vallette reads huiuscemodi. According to Wölfflin (Archiv f. lat. Lexic. V p.396 f.) cuiuscemodi for cuiusquemodi was modelled by the African writers on the false analogy of huiuscemodi; cf. Fronto 161 14 plumbei mummi et cuiuscemodi adulterini. Van der Vliet (Archiv. f. lat. Lexic. X p.386) argues that cuiuscemodi is a true late Latin form found also in St. Augustine Conf. X 12 de cuiuscemodi rebus (where cuiuscemodi was changed by a later hand to huiuscemodi). Apuleius has cuiuscemodi at Metam. VIII 17 cuiuscemodi uocibus, and IX 2 arreptis cuiuscemodi telis; he has cuiusquemodi at II 26 raptis cuiusquemodi telis. For the alteration of -ce and -que, see Sommer, Handbuch der lat. Laut- und Formenlehre p.450; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I p.126.

15 p.20 4 magna uis aeris uario effigiatu, ueterrimo et spectabili opere. Strabo XIV 1 14 (637) describes the temple as a storehouse of paintings, ancient works of art, and statues by the finest masters, including Myron. Herodotus mentions two enormous bowls, one with figures of animals round the rim, intended as a gift from the Spartans to Croesus but stolen by (or possibly sold to) the Samians on its way to Sardis (I 70); the other, dedicated by the Samians, adorned with heads of griffins and supported by three colossal kneeling figures (IV 152). uario effigiatu, ueterrimo et spectabili opere. Either both phrases are ablative of description, or the second is in apposition to the first. effigiatu is Apuleian and here only; the word is probably intended to include both statuary and the figuring of other objects, such as the bowls described by Herodotus; see note on the meaning of the verb 'effigiare' under 'truncus dolamine effigiatus' at 1 p.1 10 above. For spectabili, cf. Pliny N.H. IV 29 Nymphaeus (mons Phthiotidis) quondam topiario naturae opere spectabilis.

15 p.20 6 uel inde. uel = 'for instance', 'in particular' (so Purser in Hermathena XIV p.406), cf. Cic. De Or. II 284 cuius innumerabilia sunt exempla, uel Appii maioris illius etc.; Ter. Heaut. 568 and 806, Hec. 60; Apul. Apol. 55 (p.62 23). inde, if the MS reading is retained, can be understood in a partitive sense: 'among those early bronzes'; or (less likely) with reference to ueterrimo, 'from those days' (iam inde van der Vliet). Ellis (C.R. XIV 1901 p.50) proposed indidem, not as in Helm's app.crit. ibidem, which was suggested by Purser (Hermathena XIV p.407). For other suggestions see Helm app.crit.

15 p.20 6 ante aram. The altar of the old temple was, it seems, retained in the design of the new building, but at a greater distance (see J. P. Barron, C.Q. XIV p.213). Statues were often placed in the open forecourt (Strabo XIV 637 τὸ τε ὑπαιθρον ὁμοίως μεστὸν ἀνδριάντων ἐστὶ τῶν ἀρίστων), facing the main door through which the cult statue could be seen (cf. 'deam conspiciens' at 13 below). If, however, 'deam conspiciens' is taken to imply that the statue was inside the temple, some subsidiary altar may be meant here.

15 p.20 6 Bathylli statua a Polycrate tyranno dicata. On the identification of the statue with Bathyllus see Crusius in RE III 1 137, who comments as follows: "Aus der ganzen Fassung der Sätze scheint hervorzugehen, dass die Bezeichnung des Kitharoden im Heratempel als B. eine Hypothese ist, ^{die} ~~das~~ man kaum wahrscheinlich nennen kann." For Bathyllus, the favourite of Anacreon, see Page, Poetae Melici Graeci 471 (p.223), who quotes inter alia Maximus of Tyre XXXVII 5 p.432 (Hobein) οὕτω καὶ Ἀνακρέων Σαμίοις Πολυκράτην ἡμέρωσεν κεράσας τῇ τυραννίδι ἔρωτα, Σμερδίου καὶ Κλεοβούλου κόμην καὶ αὐλοῦς Βαθύλλου καὶ ψῶδην Ἰωνικὴν - a passage which suggests that Bathyllus may have been an aulete. There is nowhere any suggestion that he was a citharode. On the friendship of Anacreon with Polycrates, see Herodotus III 121. Pyrrhus and Elmenhorst (see Oudendorp ad loc.) identify the Bathyllus of the statue with Bathyllus of Alexandria, a dancer mentioned by Athenaeus I 37 (21), but this seems very unlikely. Professor J. P. Barron, to whose kindness I am greatly indebted, is of the opinion that the statue described by Apuleius could well have been a genuine work dating from the time of Polycrates.

15 p.20 7 qua nihil uideor effectius cognouisse. effectius occurs again at Fl. 16 p.30 16, and is the MS reading at Fl. 9 p.14 16; in both these instances it is the comparative adverb, which Apuleius was the first to use (see note under 'idque facere adiortus sum' at 9 p.14 14). Here it is usually understood as the neuter adjective: 'than which I think I have seen nothing more effective' (cf. Cic. Verr. II 4 94 ibi est ex aere simulacrum ipsius Herculis, quo non facile dixerim quicquam me uidisse pulchrius). I have, however, wondered whether this instance too might not be taken as an adverb: 'which I seem to have observed to better purpose (more thoroughly) than anything else' (with reference to the complete and detailed description which follows). For 'cognoscere' used of the sightseer, cf. Tac. Ann. II 59 Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis.

15 p.20 7 quidam Pythagorae eam falso existimant. The choice between Bathyllus and Pythagoras was no doubt presented by the temple guides. Below (p.21 3-7) Apuleius unequivocally rejects the possibility that the statue represents Pythagoras on the ground that, in spite of his beauty and musical talent, he could not, as a philosopher, have been the tyrant's favourite. In the description which follows here, Apuleius draws attention to features of the statue which suggest a somewhat docile and effeminate character, as indicated in the Physiognomonia (Rose, Anecdota Graeca et Graecolatina; see Fl. 3 introductory note): (1) neck 'suci plena' (p.20 11): Rose p.136, 15 ceruix dura indocilem hominem ostendit, ceruix ὑγρὰ docilem - ὑγρόν autem in corporibus Graeci molle quidem et flexibile non tamen evisceratum nec enervae uideri uolunt. (2) Face plump and smooth (p.20 11-12): Rose

p.159, 13 mansuetum ingenium tale est: uultus omnis iucundus, carne molli quam Graeci ὑγρὰν uocant et aliquanto pleniore circumdatus.

(3) Chin with cleft or dimple (p.20 12): Rose p.135, 19 mentum cum in ultimo diuisum est ... si non nimium medietas depressa sit, ueneris et gratiarum signum est. (4) Fingers long and delicate (p.20 18): Rose p.139, 16 qui (digiti) nimium prolixi et nimium tenues sunt, longe a sapientia est.

15 p.20 8 adulescens est uisenda pulchritudine. Cf. Pliny N.H. XVI 242 arbores magnitudinis uisendae; for the adjectival use of the gerundive, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.371. Apuleius follows the normal practice of describing a work of art with some imaginative freedom, cf. 'interlucentem' below.

15 p.20 9 crinibus <a> fronte parili separatu per malas remulsis. 'With hair in front parted evenly and falling smoothly along the line of the cheeks.' a fronte (a added by Oudendorp) is opposed to pone in the next part of the sentence. remulsis, Salmasius' correction of MS reuulsis, means 'stroked back', but the exact force of the prefix is not clear: possibly, so as not to cover the cheeks, or perhaps, to form a ringlet. The phrase 'remulsis auribus', used of an angry stallion at Metam. VII 16, means 'flattening his ears', though at Metam. I 2 'aures remulceo' means simply 'I fondle his ears' (cf. the metaphorical use at Metam. V 15 dulcissimis modulis animos audientium remulcebant). Virgil uses 'remulcens' of the dropped tail of the wolf at Aen. XI 812. Cf. Fl. 3 p.4 14 praemulsis antiis et promulsis caproneis, and note ad loc. parili separatu. 'parilis' is poetical, cf. Lucr. I 1067 noctes parilis agitare diebus. 'separatus'

is Apuleian and found here only (Koziol p.272, cf. 'uolutus' at 10 p.16 10 above). On the hair style here described by Apuleius, Professor Barron has very kindly sent me the following comment: "Long hair is, of course, characteristic of the archaic period generally: obsolete in most places by 480 or 470. In Samos, parted hair in male statues seems to be a development of the Polycrates generation -- let us say roughly 540-520. In female heads, you see it much earlier." He refers to Buschor, Altsamische Standbilder, figs. 80-83 ("a kore, very probably of Samian workmanship"), and for male styles, to a pair of bronze statuettes c.538-532 B.C. (Buschor p.69 f. and figs. 285-292), which show long hair parted in front at the centre, but drawn back behind the ears; also Buschor p.70, figs. 293 ff. a statuette c.530 of a youth with similarly long hair, not parted in the middle, and with curious side pieces in front of the ears. Professor Barron also refers to Bowra's discussion of a fragment of the early Samian poet Asius (ap. Athen. XII 30 (525)), in which the Samians are described as visiting the precinct of Hera in long white chitons and with hair 'floating in the breeze'; C. M. Bowra, On Greek Margins (Oxford 1970) pp.122-133. Bowra (p.127) mentions as parallels Buschor p.9 figs. 5, 7, 8: a bronze statuette c.600 B.C. from the Heraeum, showing a youth with hair falling to his shoulders at the back and with two 'sausage-like ringlets' at the front; p.11 figs. 29, 31, 32: another statuette with two ringlets each side in front.

15 p.20 10 pone autem coma prolixior. 'prolixior' means either 'more abundant' or simply 'longer'; cf. Varro P.R. II 2 3 caudis ...

prolixis. interlucentem ceruicem scapularum finibus obumbrat.
scapularum finibus probably means 'as far as the shoulder-blades'
 (cf. the use of fini or fine with the genitive = 'as far as';
 Lewis & Short s.v. I B2, Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.267). The
 hair falls behind in separate locks through which the neck is seen.
 Cf. Buschor figs. 276-7: a bronze statuette from the Heraeum, of
 a youth with hair falling behind in separate tresses as far as the
 base of the shoulder-blades. The historian Douris, quoting the
 lines of Asius mentioned in the previous note, says that the Samians
 wore their hair 'combed down over the back and shoulders'

(κατακτενισμένοι τὰς κόμας ἐπὶ τὸ μετὰ φρενον καὶ τοὺς ὤμους,
 Athen. XII 30 (525), Bowra p.122). In Apuleius' description,
 'finibus' would presumably refer to the top of the shoulder-blades
 rather than the base. For interlucentem cf. Metam. IX 6 Acherontis
 tenebris interluentem.

15 p.20 ll ceruix suci plena. Cf. Ter. Eun. 318 corpus solidum et suci
 plenum. Apul. Apol. 63 facies ... suci palaestrici plena (of a
 figurine of Mercury); ibid. 4 cui ... continuatio etiam litterati
 laboris ... sucum exsorbet. malae uberes. Floridus proposed
impueres (sc. 'imberbes') on the ground that uberes would be unseemly.
 Oudendorp, however, quotes Gellius IV 20 ll equum nimis strigosum ...
 equitem eius uberrimum ... uiderunt (sc. censores). genae teretes.
 Cf. Metam. V 13 per teneras et teretes et mei similes genas (Psyche
 addressing Cupid); Fl. 3 p.4 17 genis gratus (of Apollo). There is
 no apparent difference in meaning between malae and genae, though
 Apuleius elsewhere confines malae to bearded cheeks; Apol. 63,
Metam. VII 5.

15 p.20 12 at medio mente lacullatur. Helm in his app. crit. proposes lacullatus, but now wishes to read lacullatur(a) (with Heraeus, see addenda p 51) in place of MS lacullatur. None of these forms is attested elsewhere, though any might be derived from the diminutive laculla (or luculla, Ernout-Meillet p.337), which Müller in fact suggested as the true reading (Rhein. Mus. XXII 1867 p. 645 f.). Cf. Varro Sat. Menip. 371 (Buecheler) luculla in mento impressa Amoris digitulo / uestigio demonstrat mollitudinem. Others suggest lacuna, lacunatur or lacunatura (Hildebrand), the last of which is not attested. eique prorsus citharoedicus status. Müller (loc. cit.) suggests that lacullatur eique is a miscopying of laculla capitique. Lennep, on the other hand, proposes truncique or trunci quoque. The pose of the citharode does not, however, seem to be confined to the head without the body or the body without the head, but to apply to the statue as a whole. For status as the pose of a statue, cf. Cicero Verr. 2 I 57 non solum numerum signorum, sed etiam unius cuiusque magnitudinem, figuram, statum litteris definiri uides. Nepos XII 13 hoc usque eo ... fama celebratum est, ut illo statu Chabrias sibi statuam fieri uoluerit ... ex quo factum est ut postea athletae ceterique artifices suis (MSS iis) statibus in statu is ponendis uterentur.

15 p.20 13 deam conspiciens. See note on 'ante aram' at line 6 above. canenti similis. The dative of the present participle with 'similis' is a Graecism according to Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p. 78. Cf. Homer Od. XI 608, Theocritus I 41. Geisau, Indogermanische Forschungen XXXVI p. 97, considers it to be more characteristic of the language of poetry,

e.g. Virg. Aen. VIII 649 illum indignanti similem similemque minanti / aspiceres. Cf. Fl. 16 p.25 16 similis cogitanti.

15 p.20 14 tunicam ... deorsus ad pedes delectus insos. tunicam is the so-called Greek accusative with delectus. Geisau op.cit. p.82 comments that 'delectus' in this middle sense is more usual with parts of the body; cf. Virg. Aen. XI 480 oculos delecta decoros; Statius Theb. II 232 delectaeque genas. For the long chiton characteristic of the Ionians, see Bowra, On Greek Margins p.124 and Gomme's commentary on Thucydides I 6 3. Bowra refers to Buschor p.46 and figs. 160-162 (a marble statue c.550-540 found near Cape Phoneas on Samos) in which the garments cover the feet at the back and leave them only just showing in front. Professor Barron has also drawn my attention to Buschor p.43, figs.146-149: a bronze statuette of an aulete in a belted long tunic (cf. 'Graecanico cingulo' below), which Buschor considers to be a near resemblance to Apuleius' description here. Professor Barron comments "the long garments seem to have survived as a convention for later citharodes, cf. various later statues, even Hellenistic." picturis variegatam. The linen χιτῶνες are described as ποικίλοι by Heraclides Ponticus in Athen. XII 5 (512); cf. 'quod genus pictura Babylonica miris coloribus variegatum' at 9 p.12 11 above. Embroidery, like the detail of the hair, would be added by the engraver (see Casson, The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture p.161).

15 p.20 15 Graecanico cingulo. Ablative of description loosely constructed with the subject of the sentence, or possibly with tunicam. Graecanico = 'in the Greek style'; cf. Metam. I 1 fabulae Graecanicam.

M. Molt (ad loc. Metam. I 1) appears to be wrong in interpreting the meaning as 'importatam ex Graecia, sed iam non totam Graecam', a definition presumably based on Varro's distinction between 'Graeca' and 'Graecanica', the latter being words that are Greek in origin but used with Latin inflection (L.L. X 70-71). Pliny applies the word to a special kind of winepress (N.H. XVIII 317), a type of flooring (XXXVI 188), and a certain colour of bronze (XXXIV 98). It is used for Greek style in dress at Suetonius Domit. 4 4 certamini praesedit crepidatus purpureaque amictus toga Graecanica. Apuleius uses Graecanico not because the belt is not genuinely Greek but because he is describing a Greek fashion to a non-Greek audience.

15 p.20 15 chlamyde uelat utrumque bracchium. The chlamys, a short woollen cloak normally worn by ephebi and by men engaged in active pursuits such as hunting or the army, was also worn on various ceremonial occasions, e.g. by the emperor Nero when celebrating his victories as a musician, Suet. Nero 25. For the wearing of the chlamys by a citharoedus, cf. Ad Herenn. IV 60 uti citharoedus cum prodierit optime uestitus, palla inaurata indutus, cum chlamyde purpurea uariis coloribus intexta, etc. Oudendorp reads chlamyda, but both forms are found in Apuleius: Metam. X 30 ephebica chlamyda sinistrum tegebat umerum; XI 8 succinctum chlamyde; XI 24 et umeris dependebat pone tergum talorum tenuis pretiosa chlamyda (of a religious vestment). articulos palmarum. Butler translates 'wrists', but 'articulus' normally means 'finger', e.g. Propertius II/³⁴80, Ovid Pont. II 3 18, Pliny N.H. II 158.

15 p.20 16 cetera decoris /i/stris dependent. cetera probably refers to the drapery of both garments, which, apart from the portion of the chlamys which is stretched over the raised arms and hands, hang 'in beautiful folds'. 'striae' are strictly 'channels' or 'grooves'; made by the plough at Varro R.R. I 29 3; used for the fluting of a column, which is compared to drapery, at Vitruvius IV 1 7 *truncoque toto strias uti stolarum rugas ... demiserunt.* For the style of drapery that is cast from a wooden model, see Casson, The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture, p.157. striis (in striis Wowerius) is Colvius' emendation of MS istriis (histriis φ); cf. Müller in Rhein. Mus. XXII 646. Others¹ read histrici, taking decoris histrici as genitive and interpreting cetera as 'instrumenta musica ad decorem histricum seu histrionum pertinentia'. This interpretation seems quite irrelevant.

15 p.20 17 balteo caelato apta strictim sustinetur. caelato, a word normally used of engraving on metal, must here mean that the strap was represented as made of tooled leather or embroidered fabric. Cf. De deo Socr. 23 *frena caelata*; Valerius Flaccus V 6-7 *caelataque multa / arte ... uelamina.* strictim means 'close to the body'; cf. Metam. XI 10 *candido linteamine cinctum pectoralem ... strictim iniecti*; Plautus Capt. 268 *strictimne adtonsurum ... an per pectinem* (a 'close cut' or 'over the comb'). The cithara rested against the body of the performer, projecting from it at right angles, and was held in position by a band attached to his left wrist; see O.C.D. p.709 and R.P. Winnington-Ingram in C.Q. VI (1956) p. 184-5.

¹Lipsius, followed by Vulcanius and others. The vulgate reading is instrumentis. See Oudendorp (Valpy p.2878).

15 p.20 18 laeva distantibus digitis nervos molitur. When accompanying the song, the performer used the left hand only to pluck the strings, but in the interludes the right hand, which held the plectrum, was used. See Der Kleine Pauly III 1581 (Nachträge) s.v. Kithara, and Winnington-Ingram loc. cit. For the position of the hands, cf. the younger Philostratus Imag. 400K (Orpheus) τάχα δέ τι καὶ νῦν ᾄδει ... αἱ χεῖρες δὲ ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ εὐνέχουσα ὑπὲρ τὸ πλῆκτρον ἐκινεῖται τοῖς φθόγγοις ... ἡ λαεὰ δὲ ὀρθοῖς πλήττει τοῖς δακτύλοις τοῦς μίτους. dextra psallentis gestu pulsabulum admouet. pulsabulum, a late marginal correction in φ, may be accepted as an Apuleian coinage for the plectrum. For other less likely suggestions, see Helm app. crit.

15 p.20 19 ceu parata percutere. The MSS have seu, as if 'parata percutere' were an alternative to 'psallentis gestu'. This conflicts, however, with the fact that the plectrum was not used to strike the strings during the accompaniment. cum uox in cantico interquieuit. Floridus corrected to interquieuerit. The use of the perfect indicative in a cum-clause referring to the future is certainly unusual; perhaps the timelessness of the action depicted has something to do with it.

15 p.20 20 quod interim canticum ... eliquare. For the repetition of canticum, cf. 'fanum ... id fanum' p.19 20 - p.20 1 above, and 'curia ... in qua curia' at 16 p.30 5-6. semihiantibus ... labellis. Cf. Catullus 61 220 semihiente iabello. Brakman (Mnemosyne XXXVI 1908 p.35) refers to Propertius II 31 5-6 hic equidem Phoebos uisus mihi pulchrior ipso / marmoreus tacita carmen hiare lyra. eliquare: 'pour forth'; the verb, normally used of straining liquids (Sen. N.Q. III 26 6; Col. R.R. X 19 4, XII 27), here suggests the purity of the voice.

15 p.21 1 esto cuiuspiam puerum, qui/s/ Polycratⁱ tyranno dilectus Anacreonteum ... cantilat. Apuleius now seems less certain of the identification of the statue with Bathyllus, but remains convinced that it represents one of Polycrates' favourites. This inference rests (1) on the dedication of the statue by Polycrates (p.20 6); (2) on the beauty of the youth represented; and (3) the connection of his occupation with Anacreon. If the vulgate reading qui ... Anacreonteum is accepted (F and ϕ have quis ... Anacreonte uel), the youth is supposed to be actually singing an 'Anacreontic strain' (Anacreonteum melos, Purser, Hermathena XIV p.407). amicitiae gratia should probably be interpreted quite vaguely 'for love's sake'. Salmasius' proposed reading quos Polycrati tyranno dilectos Anacreon Teius amicitiae gratia cantilat makes excellent sense, but for the difficulty pointed out by Oudendorp of using cantilat of someone other than the singer represented by the statue. For the Apuleian verb 'cantilare', cf. Fl. 3 p.5 4, Fl. 17 p.32 22, Metam. IV 8. In none of these instances is the verb transitive.

15 p.21 3 multum abest Pythagorae philosophi statum esse. Apuleius' use of multum abest ('it is far from being the case that') with the accusative and infinitive seems to be unparalleled, apart from the late use of 'absit' with this construction by Gregorius Magnus (6th century A.D.); see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II pp.349 and 641. Apuleius uses 'absit' with the normal 'ut' and subjunctive at Metam. II 3 and VIII 12. Cuperus, followed by van der Vliet, added non before multum here, thus spoiling the sense without improving the grammar. Purser, Hermathena XIV p.407, suggests correcting to

ut Pythagorae ... statua esset. Cf. Lucr. IV 856 *procul est ut credere possis.*

15 p.21 4 et natu/s⁷ Samius. et has been variously emended on the assumption that a concessive clause depending on the previous sentence is needed here. Van der Vliet seeks to supply a verb by inserting ut qui fuerit after esse. Purser thinks that there is a break in construction after potiebatur. The sentence is intelligible enough, however, if some verb such as 'fuit' is understood with natu (for the omission of a past tense of 'esse' see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.421 (c)). natu, if correct, is used for 'genere'; elsewhere it seems to occur only in phrases denoting age, 'natu maior' etc. For Pythagoras' Samian birth and the tradition that he was a 'Tyrrhenian', see Guthrie p.173 note 3. Porphyry V.P. 2; Diog. Laert. VIII 1.

15 p.21 4 pulchritudine adprime insignis. Cf. Apol. 4 Pythagoram ... eum sui saeculi excellentissima forma fuisse. Iamblichus also mentions beauty, in connection with the tale that Pythagoras was the son of Apollo (V.P. 4 and 6); the other sources speak rather of dignity and impressiveness; Diog. Laert. VIII 11, Porphyry V.P. 18. For adprime, see note on 'in tibicinio adprime nobilis' at 4 p.5 17.

15 p.21 5 psallendi musicaeque omnis multo doctissimus. Pythagoras was said to have 'discovered' musical intervals, on which he based his general theory of numbers (see W. K. C. Guthrie, A History of Greek Philosophy I pp.222 ff.). There is no evidence that he was a virtuoso musician. His experiments are thought to have been carried out on a monochord (Guthrie p.224; Diog. Laert. VIII 12). For the genitive with doctissimus cf. Virg. Aen. X 225 *fandi doctissima*; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II pp.78 and 375.

15 p.21 6 ac ferme id aevi. The older MSS have adferme and atferme; Krüger reads atque ferme. For the partitive genitive in expressions of time, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II pp.47 and 52, Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.306. Cf. 'eo temporis' at 12 below. The present example seems to be somewhere between phrases such as 'id temporis', which are normally adverbial (cf. Varro R.R. 51 2 id temporis anni; Cato Agr. 17 1 quiduis anni; Suet. Nero 26 2 illud horae), and 'id (hoc, istuc) aetatis', which can also be used attributively. Cf. Cic. Fam. VI 20 3 ita uiximus et id aetatis sumus ut omnia ... fortiter ferre debeamus. quo Polycrates Samum potiebatur. The birth of Pythagoras is usually put around 570 B.C., the tyranny of Polycrates c.540 or 538 to 522, but see note on 'eo commodum dominari orso' at 8 below. The use of a defining relative clause after id aevi is perhaps unusual, though cum is used with 'id temporis' at Cic. Mil. 28 profectus id temporis cum iam Clodius ... redire potuisset. Kronenberg changes quo to quom. 'potior' with acc. is ^{mainly} pre-classical, cf. Plaut. Rud. 191, Ter. Ad. 871 and 876; Accius Phoen. 590 (Ribb.²) natus uti tute sceptrum potiretur patris; Lucr. III 1038 scepra potitus.

15 p.21 7 sed haudquaquam philosophus tyranno dilectus est. philosophus and tyranno are in contrastive juxtaposition; cf. 'philosophi' above. For the tradition that Pythagoras was the first to call himself by this name, cf. Apol. 4 Pythagoram, qui primus se esse philosophum nuncuparit; Diog. Laert. I 12, VIII 8, Iamblichus V.P. 8 44, etc. Apuleius feels strongly that, in view of his known character and calling, and the facts of his life, Pythagoras could not have been the person represented in the statue. See note on 'quidam Pythagorae eam falso existimant' at p.20 7 above.

15 p.21 8 eo commodum dominari orso profugit ex insula clanculo
Pythagoras. For commodum, see note under 'repertu nouo commodum
 oriebatur' at 3 p.3 12 above. clanculo, first found in Apuleius,
 is a late variant of the pre-classical clanculum (a popular diminutive
 of clam) which Apuleius does not use; Koziol p.266, Walde-Hofmann I
 p.227, Ernout-Meillet p.111. profugit. Pythagoras is said on the
 authority of Aristoxenus to have fled from Samos at the age of 40
 to escape the tyranny of Polycrates; Porphyry V.P. 9 (DK I p.99);
 see Guthrie, History of Greek Philosophy I p.173. For the tradition
 that there were two such flights see J. P. Barron, C.Q. XIV p.227;
 Strabo XIV 1 16 (638); Iamblichus V.P. 11 ff. Apuleius' account
 seems in some respects to resemble that of Iamblichus, whose source
 may have been Timaeus, and who makes Pythagoras leave Samos (for
 the first time) secretly by night, at the age of 18, after the death
 of his father, when the tyranny of Polycrates had first made its
 appearance. Professor Barron dates this departure much earlier (c.571),
 but Apuleius may have accepted the implication that Pythagoras was a
 mere youth in the time of Polycrates, so that the statue might, on
 that score, have represented him.

15 p.21 9 patre Mnesarcho. Herod. IV 95; Diog. Laert. VIII 1 calls
 him δαντυλιολύφης. quem comperio. The use of this word suggests
 that Apuleius has studied the tradition and selected what seems to
 him the most authentic version; cf. his use of 'comperior' (see note
 under 'id quoque pallium comperior ipsius laborem fuisse' at 9 p.12 14).
 Iamblichus, on the other hand, makes Pythagoras' father a wealthy
 merchant; Porphyry V.P. 1 mentions a voyage on which he brought corn
 to Samos during a famine. inter sellularios artifices ... laudem magis

quam opem quaesisse. For the usual implications of the word 'sellularius' see note on 'sellularias ... artes' at 9 p.13 10 above. Guthrie (op.cit. p.174 note 1) points out that 'caelatura' in general was well regarded as a 'free man's art' (see Pliny N.H. XXXV 77). Apuleius puts Mnesarchus into a higher class by saying that he gained renown rather than wealth by the exercise of his craft. For the singular opem cf. Ennius ap. Cic. Tusc. III 44 adstante ope barbarica (imitated by Virgil Aen. VIII 685). Becichemus proposed opes. faberrime: see note on 'faberrimo signaculo' at 9 p.12 16. On the excellence of Samian craftsmen at this time, cf. P.N. Ure, Origins of Tyranny p.69 and note 1.

15 p.21 11 inter captiuos Cambysae regis, Aegyptum cum adueheretur. The story that Pythagoras went to Egypt as Cambyses' prisoner seems to be found only in Apuleius; the more usual account is either that his travels were wholly voluntary (cf. 'celebrior fama optinet' below), or that he was taken prisoner in Egypt. According to Iamblichus' somewhat apocryphal version, Pythagoras went straight to Egypt after leaving Samos and studied there for 22 years until taken prisoner by Cambyses' army and brought to Babylon, where he also studied (Iambl. V.P. 19, cf. Theolog. Arithm. p.40, DK I p.100; Jacoby F.G.H. II B 1152 7). Strabo XIV 1 16 (638) mentions Egypt and Babylon as visited during Pythagoras' first flight from Samos. Aegyptum cum adueheretur. This is usually translated (as by Guthrie p.253) 'when he was taken to Egypt among the prisoners of Cambyses', but the use of the imperfect, as well as the sense, requires the interpretation that Pythagoras was 'on his way' to Egypt when he received instruction from the Persian sages.

This is contrasted with the 'celebrior fama' that he went to Egypt voluntarily and that this preceded his travels in the East.

15 p.21 13 Persarum magos ac praecipue Zoroastrem, omnis diuini arc/h/ani antistitem. Cf. Apol. 25 Persarum lingua magus est qui nostra sacerdos. Cicero Div. I 45 magos ... quod genus sapientium et doctorum habebatur in Persis. Zoroaster was the traditional founder of the Persian religion, cf. Pliny N.H. XXX 3, Plutarch Is. et Os. 46 (Mor. 369), Lucian Menipp. 6 (463). For the possibility of Persian influence on Pythagoreanism see Guthrie pp.251-255, who quotes in full the ancient sources connecting Pythagoras with Zoroaster and the Magi on pp.253-4, including Apul. Apol. 31 Pythagoram ... Zoroastri sectatorem. antistitem. Cf. Apol. 26 auditisne magiam ... artem esse dis immortalibus acceptam, colendi eos ac uenerandi pergnaram, piam scilicet et diuini scientem, iam inde a Zoroastre et Cromaze auctoribus suis nobilem, caelitum antistitam.

15 p.21 15 a quodam Gillo Crotoniensium principe recipere~~retum~~. Rohde in Rhein. Mus. XL 1885 p.111 proposes Syllo for Gillo, basing the conjecture on Iambl. V.P. 150 Σύλλος εἰς τῶν ἐν Κρότωνι Πυθαγορείων. Helm now accepts this reading (addenda p.51). One must assume that Syllus, who is mentioned as having paid a fine rather than swear an oath contrary to his master's teaching, became a Pythagorean later on. The name Gillus, however, might have been derived by 'contamination' from two episodes in Herodotus III 137-8, where, first, the people of Croton protect their compatriot, the doctor Democedes, from being taken back to Persia by the King's spies, and secondly, these same Persians are wrecked on the island Iapygia,

and there ransomed by a certain Gillus, a Tarentine exile. The story of Pythagoras' rescue is clearly fictitious, arising from his later association with Croton, but used by its inventor to explain how he reached Italy in the first place. (Cf. the story that Plato was ransomed at Aegina by Anniceris of Cyrene, Diog. Laert. III 19-20).

15 p.21 16 uerum enimuero celebrior fama optinet. Apuleius sometimes uses 'uerum enimuero' to introduce a more certain or more strongly supported statement, in contrast with what has gone before: e.g. Apol. 43 uerum enimuero, utut ista sese habent, si qua fides hisce rebus impertienda est, debet ille nescio qui puer etc.; De deo Socr. 20 uerum enimuero, utut ista sunt, certe quidem ominum harioli uocem audiunt. Cf. Fl. 20 p.40 21 and 12 p.17 19. sponte eum petisse Aegyptias disciplinas. Isocrates, the first writer to mention Pythagoras' visit to Egypt, implies that he went there mainly to study religion (Busiris 28). Cf. Herodotus II 81, Diog. Laert. VIII 2-3, Diodorus I 98 2. Guthrie p.173.

15 p.21 17 caerimoniarum incredundas potentias. 'incredundus' occurs only in Apuleius (Koziol p.274), cf. Apol. 47 magia ... propter incredundas frugum illecebras interdicta; Metam. II 12 incredundam fabulam. For the gerundive with negative prefix, cf. 'infandus'; Kretschmann p.50 compares Metam. XI 28 impaenitendae ... pauperiei. For the old ending -undus see Sommer, Handbuch der lat. Laut- und Formenlehre p.617. 'potentia' is here used in the sense of 'force', 'efficacy'; cf. Juvenal VII 200 occulti miranda potentia fati.

15 p.21 18 numerorum admirandas uices: i.e. arithmetic and the various permutations of number. Colvius suggested uires for uices,

taking the reference to be to astronomy (or astrology), which, as Oudendorp observes, Pythagoras is said below to have learnt from the Chaldaeans. Egypt was, however, noted for both sciences, cf. Cic. Fin. V 87 cur Plato Aegyptum peragravit ut a sacerdotibus barbaris numeros et caelestia acciperet? Lucan I 638 ff. at Figulus ... quem non stellarum Aegyptia Memphis / aequaret visu numerisque sequentibus astra.

15 p.21 19 geometriae sollertissimas formulas. 'formulae' are either the rules of geometry or the diagrammatic representation of them in figures; cf. 'forma' at Cic. Rep. I 29 animaduertisse dicunt in arena geometricas formas quasdam esse descriptas. The word is used of syllogistic figures at $\kappa\epsilon\rho\iota \ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\eta\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ 7 tres igitur formulae fiunt, and for a diagram showing the relations between propositions ibid. 5 non ab re est in quadrata formula spectare. Cf. Martianus Capella IV 401 quattuor lineis quadrata formula exprimatur. For Egyptian geometry, see Heath, A History of Greek Mathematics I p.121 ff. didicisse. Purser (Hermaethena XIV p.408) considers the addition of didicisse to be unnecessary, as the force of petisse in 17 continues throughout the sentence.

15 p.21 20 animi expletum. See note on 'falsos animi' under 'parua quaedam et praua similitudo' at 9 p.11 6 above. For 'expleri' of intellectual satisfaction, cf. Cic. N.D. II 105 (of the heavenly bodies) quorum contemplatione nullius expleri potest animus naturae constantiam uidere cupientis. Chaldaeos atque inde Bracmanos. Pythagoras' journey to the East is related on the authority of Aristoxenus by Porphyry V.P. 6 and 11-12, who makes him learn geometry from the Egyptians, arithmetic

from the Phoenicians, and astronomy from the Chaldaeans; Arabians and Hebrews are also mentioned, from whom Pythagoras learnt the interpretation of dreams and other forms of divination. The Chaldaeans and Magi are mentioned by Diog. Laert. VIII 3 and by Iambl. V.P. 151. The visit to India is dismissed by Guthrie p.253 as one of the 'wilder references', like the statement of Iamblichus V.P. 151 that Pythagoras borrowed certain religious ceremonies from the Celts and Iberians.

15 p.21 21 Bracmanos - hi sapientes uiri sunt, Indiae gens est - eorum ergo Bracmanum gymnosophistas adesse. See notes on 6 p.6 23 'sunt apud illos et uaria colentium genera' and 6 p.7 4 'genus ... praestabile, gymnosophistae uocantur'. The use of 'Indiae gens' to describe the Brahmins suggests that they are regarded here as an ethnic group rather than as a mere section of the philosopher class as a whole; cf. Porphyry De Abstinencia IV 17 who speaks of the Brahmins as being 'of one race, for they all trace their descent from one father and one mother', in contrast with the other section of the gymnosophists, which he calls the Samanaioi, who join the group by individual decision. Pliny N.H. VI 64 gives the name 'Bracmanae' (or 'Bragmanae') to a number of tribes living in a mountain area near the Ganges. The unusual double parenthesis was suspected by Wowerius, Elmenhorst and others, but the resumptive eorum ergo indicates that it is not a gloss; cf. 6 p.6 3-8 Indi ... eorum igitur Indorum, and Introduction p.40.

15 p.21 22 sideralem scientiam. Cf. Pliny N.H. VII 160 sideralis scientiae sententiam. p.22 1 numinum uagantium statos ambitus.

utrorumque uarios effectus in genituris hominum. See note on 'quinque uagantium potestates' at 10 p.16 1 above. As the sentence now stands, the reference of utrorumque is not at all clear. status is the reading of ϕ ; van der Vliet accepts status, the reading of F, which would give two opposed aspects of the planets, their 'positions' and their 'movements'. What seems to be needed, however, is a reference to the fixed stars. It might perhaps be possible to understand sideralem scientiam as equivalent to siderum scientiam in a narrower sense, i.e. as opposed to numinum uagantium; or a reference to the fixed stars may have fallen out of the text (so Krüger). For various improbable emendations see Helm app. crit. For 'effectus' ('influence') cf. Vitruvius IX 6 2 cetera ex astrologia, quos effectus habent signa XII, stellae V, sol, luna ad humanae uitae rationem, Chaldaeorum ratiocinationibus est concedendum, quod propria est eorum genethliologiae ratio. Val. Max. 7 7 (of Pythagoras' studies among the Persians) a quibus siderum motus cursusque stellarum et unius cuiusque uim proprietatem effectum docili animo sorpsit. genituris. Cf. Suet. Nero 6 de genitura eius statim ... praesagio fuit; Calig. 51 consulenti quoque de genitura sua. For a general discussion of astrology, see Gellius XIV 1.

15 p.22 2 medendi remedia mortalibus. medendi seems to be a genitive of purpose ('for healing mortals'), which is common enough with the gerundive (e.g. Livy IV 30 10 piacula pacis deum exposcendae; XXXVI 27 2 pacis petendae oratores), but I can find no other instance of its use with the gerund. Possibly it is to be explained by analogy with such appositional uses as Plaut. Poen. 34 sermones fabulandi (domum

conferunt); Tac. Ann. II 47 effugium ... in aperta prorumpendi.
 Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.739-741. latis pecuniis: 'at great expense'.
 Koziol p.315 compares 'longa dote' at Apol. 92 (p.102 10), and
 considers both expressions to be solecisms. Helm compares the
 legal term 'lata culpa' (Lewis & Short s.v. latus II A). Ellis
 (C.R. XV 1901 p.50) would either read latius (cf. late Stewechius)
 or understand latis as a participle = collatis. Thomas in Revue de
l'instr. publ. en Belgi^{-que} LIII 1910 p.146 finds a close parallel in
 the late romance Historia Apolloni Regis Tyri p.72 11 (Riese) ut
 cotidie mihi latiores pecunias adferas.

15 p.22 3 terra caeloque et mari conquisita. caeloque is either
 hyperbole (cf. Juvenal III 78 in caelum iusseris ibit), or it refers
 to the source of some of the remedies, for instance, birds. Pliny
 mentions the use of goose-fat in Syria (N.H. X 55); cf. Celsus II 18
 and 29-30 for the use of birds, fish, animals and plants as remedies
 or preventatives. For the use of fish, cf. Apol. 40 quid enim tandem,
 si medicinae neque instudiosus neque imperitus quaequam remedia ex
 piscibus quaero?

15 p.22 5 quae mentium documenta, quae corporum exercitantia: sc.
 essent. For 'documentum' in the sense of 'teaching' (usually 'proof'),
 cf. Fl. 18 p.37 21 optare iussit quantum uellet mercedem sibi pro
 tanto documento rependi; mentium, like corporum, is objective, 'lessons
 for training minds'. The mental and physical training of the gymno-
 sophists appear to have been at least partly the same thing: the
 learning, by physical endurance, to withstand pleasure and pain (Strabo
 XV 1 65 (716)). For the teaching and common life of the Brahmins,
 see notes on 6 p.7 10 'sapientiam percolunt' and 6 p.7 11 'tam magistri

senes quam discipuli iuniores'. exercitamenta (~~here only, Kessiel p.269~~) is coined by Apuleius to match documenta. Elsewhere he uses 'exercitatio' for physical exercise (De Plat. I 2, II 9).

15 p.22 6 quot partes animi. Plato's tripartite division of the soul was ascribed, probably wrongly, to Pythagoras; see G. M. A. Grube, Plato's Thought p.133 and note 1. quot uices uitae. Probably with reference to the doctrine of transmigration. For this and for the following quae diis manibus pro merito suo cuique tormenta uel praemia, cf. Strabo XV 1 59 (713), speaking of the Brahmins on the authority of Megasthenes: παραπλέκουσι δὲ καὶ μύθους ὥσπερ καὶ Πλάτων περί τε ἀφθαρσίας ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν καθ' ἄδου κρίσεων καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. diis manibus. It seems possible that the phrase is being used in a local sense, sc. 'in the underworld'. Otherwise it is dative, with cuique in apposition. Although 'di manes', referring to the spirits of the departed, is normally used in a collective sense, Apuleius may have thought the phrase particularly apt for describing the 'divine' soul or δαίμων.

15 p.22 8 Pherecydes Syro ex insula oriundus. For the mythographer and cosmogonist Pherecydes of Syros, see Kirk and Raven, The Presocratic Philosophers p.48 ff. He was active about the middle of the 6th century and shared with Cadmus of Miletus the reputation of being the first prose writer (the Suda s.vv.; Pliny N.H. V 112, VII 205; Isidorus Orig. I 38 2). Anaximander, who also wrote in prose, was more or less contemporary (Kirk and Raven p.50). passis uerbis, soluto locutu, libera oratione. Oudendorp considers the phrase passis uerbis to be modelled on 'crines passi'. The suggestion prorsis or prosis seems unnecessary.

locutu (found here only, see Neue, Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache I p.753) is coined for assonance with solutu, which, like libera, is a usual description of prose in contrast with the restraint of metre. (libera oratione could perhaps be a gloss, since apart from completing the tricolon it adds nothing to the meaning or stylistic effect).

15 p.22 10 eum quoque Pythagoras magistrum coluit. For the change of case, here due to inverse attraction, see note on 'Alexandro illi ... eius igitur Alexandri' at 7 p.8 3 and Introduction p.40. According to Cicero Tusc. I 38 it was Pherecydes who taught Pythagoras the doctrine of transmigration (cf. Suda s.v. Pherecydes). Apollonius Mirab. 6 (Rose, Aristoteles fragmenta p.153, DK I p.98) states that Pythagoras learnt miracle-working from Pherecydes, but see Kirk and Raven pp.50-51. Cf. Diog. Laert. I 13, Pliny N.H. II 191.

15 p.22 11 infandi morbi putredine in serpentium scabiem solutum. Though other versions of Pherecydes' death are recorded in Diog. Laert. I 118, the sources overwhelmingly attest that the 'infandus morbus' was louse-disease (morbus pedicularius), from which the dictator Sulla and the poet Alcman also died. Cf. the Suda s.v. Pherecydes; Heraclides Polit. 32 (Rose p.378, DK I p.43 fin.); Antigonus Mirab. 88; Aristotle H.A. V 31 3; Pliny N.H. VII 172; Plutarch Sulla 36 2-3 and 5; Pausanias I 20 7; Aelian Var. Hist. III 28. The most explicit accounts are given by Aristotle (loc. cit.) and Plutarch, with which Apuleius' description agrees except for the puzzling phrase in serpentium scabiem. Apart from Pliny VII 172 who speaks of 'serpentium multitudine ex corpore eius erumpente', 'serpentia' is not elsewhere used for lice (Rackham in

the Loeb Pliny translates 'maggots' but this is surely a confusion), and 'scabies' which suggests roughness or incrustation of the skin is not a word one would normally associate with a disease which (according to Aristotle and Plutarch) begins in the interior of the body. Colvius proposed to substitute the rare word scabrem ('itch'). Apuleius uses 'scabies' of the accumulation of dirt on an old cask at Metam. IX 7 *scabiem vetustam cariosae testae occipit exculpere*. I have wondered if at this point Apuleius is not introducing into his description of the disease from which Pherecydes died associations from another disease, and one which would be more familiar to his African audience, namely leprosy. Isidorus Orig. IV 8 10 connects 'scabies' and 'lepra' as two forms of the same malady; cf. Galen XIV p.75 (Kühn); Celsus III 25. Compare Aeschylus' description of the wasting disease that will attack Crestes if he fails to kill his mother at Choeph. 280 f. *σαρκῶν ἐπαμβατήρας ἀγρίαις γνάθοις / λιχθηνας ἐξέσθοντας ἀρχαίαν φύσιν.* The 'infandus morbus' would be more likely to impress Apuleius' audience (and increase their appreciation of Pythagoras' piety in burying his old teacher) if they could relate it to some dreaded scourge within their own experience.

15 p.22 12 religiose humavit. The tale which makes Pythagoras bury Pherecydes in Delos (ascribed to Aristoxenus by Diog. Laert. I 119) does not record the nature of the malady and seems in fact to be an alternative version. Diodorus X 3 4 adds the circumstantial details that Pythagoras came from Italy to nurse Pherecydes, who was old and ill, and when he did not recover, performed the last rites as a son would for his father. Cf. Porphyry V.P. 15 *θεραπεύσας ... καὶ ἀποθανόντα θάψας.*

15 p.22 12 fertur et penes Anaximandrum Milesium naturabilia
commentatus. For Anaximander, Thales' successor in the development
of Ionian science, see Guthrie p.72 ff. Porphyry (V.P. 3 and 11)
and Iamblichus (V.P. 11) both mention Anaximander among the teachers
of Pythagoras. The two men belong, in fact, to two different
philosophical traditions, cf. Diog. Laert. I 13. naturabilia is
Apuleian; cf. De Plat. II 12 sollicitudinem et laborem, si naturabiles
essent ... adpetibiles ducebat esse. For the formation of adjectives
in -bilis from noun stems, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I p.234.
Elsewhere Apuleius has 'naturalis', cf. De Plat. I 4 naturali
philosophia.

15 p.22 14 Cretensem Epimeniden inclitum fatiloquum et piatorem.
Diog. Laert. VIII 3 says that while in Crete Pythagoras went down into
the cave of Ida with Epimenides, but there seems to be no other
tradition connecting the two men personally. For Epimenides and the
problem of his date, see Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods pp.196-197.
Plato Leg. 642 d has it that Epimenides prophesied the defeat of the
Persians when he came to Athens ten years before the first Persian
invasion, but according to Arist. Ath. Pol. 1 he was called in to
purify the city after the conspiracy of Cylon about a century earlier.
'inclitus' is mainly pre-classical and poetic. For 'fatiloquus' as
a noun cf. the feminine at Livy I 7 8 Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam
ante Sibyllae in Italiam aduentum miratae eae gentes fuerant. piatorem.
The MSS have platonem, for which Soping proposed Thaletem (also listed
among Pythagoras' teachers at Iambl. V.P. 11), but the intrusion of
another name at this point seems unlikely. Scaliger suggested poetam

(Diog. Laert. I 111 mentions poems and prose works), but the true reading is almost certainly Lipsius' piatorem. The word is not attested elsewhere (which would account for the corruption), but a feminine 'piatrix' is given at Festus p.213 (Müller) piatrix dicebatur sacerdos, quae expiare erat solita, quam quidam simulatricem, alii sagam, alii expiatricem uocant. Porphyry V.P. 29 calls Epimenides καθαρτής.

15 p.22 15 Leodamantem Creophyli discipulum. Other sources give the name as Hermodamas (Diog. Laert. VIII 2, Porph. V.P. 1 and 15, Iambl. V.P. 11, Schol. in Plat. Rep. 600 b), to whom Pythagoras is said to have attached himself after the death of Pherecydes. Apuleius speaks of him as the pupil of Creophylus (which again raises a problem of dating); the other sources describe Hermodamas as the 'descendant' of Creophylus, with the exception of Porphyry who mentions him twice as τῷ κρεώφυλῳ, which probably means that he was a member of a school. qui Creophylus memoratur poetae Homeri hospes et aemulator canendi fuisse. For the repetition of the name in the relative clause see note on 'contra Apollinem ... quod Apollo esset' at 3 p.4 15. Creophylus is mentioned as the associate of Homer at Plato Rep. X 600 b; the scholiast adds that some said he was Homer's son-in-law. Strabo XIV 1 18 (638-9) relates that he was a Samian who entertained Homer and received from him the gift of the epic poem Οἶχαλίας ἄλυσις, which Callimachus (Epigr. 6) judged to be the work of Creophylus himself. Cf. the Suda s.v. Κρεώφυλος. canendi: the so-called 'genitive of remoter object' (Roby 1312). For the double genitive, Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.416.

15 p.22 18 tot tamque multiugis calicibus disciplinarum toto orbe haustis. For multiugis see note on 'totiugi scientia' under 'tam numerosa arte multiscium' at 9 p.13 5. calicibus is van der Vliet's emendation of MS comitibus, prompted, like Oudendorp's caliculis, by the metaphor and line of thought of Fl. 20. Colvius' fontibus is, however, nearer to the MSS and seems a more natural metaphor, especially with the plural disciplinarum. Stewechius suggested comitibus ... auctus or comitibus ... habitis, but the virtual repetition of 'doctoribus' is unconvincing.

15 p.22 19 uir praesertim ingenio ingenti. praesertim ('beyond others') seems to be used in place of a superlative for ingenti, which is put next to ingenio for the sound effect. super captum hominis animi augustior. See note on 'pro meo captu' at 9 p.11 17. 'super' is here used in the sense of 'supra', cf. Metam. I 3 supra captum cogitationis ardua. For the pleonastic use of the comparative in the present example, compare the use of prepositions with the comparative in place of 'quam', as developed by later writers: e.g. Suet. Galba 9 multoque praeter ceteras altiore; Apul. Plat. I 11 ignem ante alia superiorem esse; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.112. animi; either with captum or locative with augustior.

15 p.22 20 primus philosophiae nuncupator et conditor. That is to say, he was the first to describe himself as a 'philosopher' or 'lover of wisdom'; see note under 'haudquaquam philosophus tyranno dilectus est' at 15 p.21 7 above. Pythagoras might with reason be regarded as the founder of philosophy (see Guthrie p.146); he was certainly the founder of the philosophical tradition which culminated in Plato and to which

Apuleius himself claimed to belong. nuncupator is probably Apuleian (Koziol p. 271); see note on 'retentores' at 6 p.6 23.

15 p.22 21 nihil prius discipulos suos docuit quam tacere. For the famous Pythagorean 'rule of silence', see Guthrie pp. 150 ff. The silence was, it seems, of two kinds: (1) a novitiate of total silence (Gellius I 9 says the length of time varied; Iamblichus V.P. 94 mentions a period of five years); (2) the rule that 'secret doctrines' were not to be divulged outside the school (Porphyry V.P. 19, Diog. Laert. VIII 15). The idea of 'silence' became important for later religion, as a form of mystical experience, but it can also be understood (as here) in a more popular sense, of learning to guard one's speech (cf. Euripides Hipp. 392-7). Pythagorean silence became proverbial; cf. Isocrates Bus. 29, who says that the Pythagoreans were more admired for their silence than other men for their most eloquent speech.

15 p.22 22 primumque apud eum meditatio sapienti futuro linguam omnem coercere. apud eum suggests the existence of a school, though Apuleius does not mention its locality, apart from the passing reference to 'Gillo Crotoniensium principe' at p.21 15. meditatio has its usual sense of 'preparation' or 'study'; cf. Gellius I 9 5 silentio eruditi cui nomen erat ἐμεψία. Scholars have found the expression linguam omnem coercere strange: Rohde suggested mobilem, Purser (Hermathena XIV p. 408) linguae nomen. Ritterhuis' omnino gives the correct sense, but no change in the text is needed.

15 p.23 1 verba(que), quae uolantia poetae appellant. que is thought to have fallen out before quae, though it could, perhaps, be dispensed

with without serious loss. uolantia: the reference is clearly to Homer's ἔλαα πτερόεντα, hence Ritter⁵huis proposed poeta appellat. For the plural, Helm refers to Apol. 83 si uerba ita, ut poetae aiunt, pinnis apta uolgo uolarent. The metaphor has become part of the common stock of poets, e.g. Hesiod Scut. Her. 445, Pindar Isthm. 5 64, Eur. Or. 1176, Plaut. Amph. 325-326, Hor. Epist. I 18 71. ea uerba ... premere. For the repetition of 'uerba', see Helm in Philologus Supplementband IX p.519, who compares Fl. 17 p.33 20 sed nequeo quin ex plurimis, quae in te meritissimo admiramur, ex his plurimis etc. detractis pinnis: cf. the Homeric ἀπτερος μῦθος (Od. XXI 386, XII 398) and Plautus Amph. 325-6. intra murum ... dentium (Od. XXIII 70, etc.): cf. Apol. 7 sermo ... qui, ut ait poeta praecipuus, dentium muro proficiscitur; De Plat. I 14 lingua et dentium uallum; Gellius I 15 3. candentium dentium. The phrase has nothing to recommend it here except the repetition of sound; it is more appropriately used of the bared teeth of a horse at Metam. VII 16 dentiumque candentium remudatis asceis totum me commorsicat; cf. Plaut. Epid. 429 me albis dentibus / meus deridet filius meritissumo. Burmann suggested claudentium here, but Apuleius may have had a liking for the phrase 'candentes dentes', which also occurs in his translation of a passage of Menander's 'Ἀνεχόμενος, line 8 (Baehrens, Poetae Latini Minores IV 104).

15 p.23 3 prorsus, inquam, hoc erat primum sapientiae rudimentum. prorsus here = 'in short' (Kretschmann p.104). See note on 'prorsum' at 9 p.13 12. inquam, usually placed after a word or phrase that has been repeated, here follows prorsus in a general resumptive sense. rudimentum has its usual sense of 'training', 'first lesson' (cf. 3 p.3 14). meditari cordiscere, locutari dediscere: 'to learn thought, to unlearn

speech'. (Butler curiously translates 'meditation is learning, speech is unlearning'). For meditari = 'reflect', 'meditate', cf. the sense of 'meditatio' at 6 p.7 20. loquitari (cf. Plaut. Bacch. 803) is here used for balance with meditari, but retains an iterative sense in so far as it indicates the 'habit' of speech.

15 p.2³/₇ 5 uocem desuescebant. The verb is more common in the passive participle, e.g. Ovid Metam. VII 645-6 uocesque hominum ... iam mihi desuetas; Trist. V 7 63 desuetaque uerba retracto. Nonius cites a transitive use from the early comic poet Titinius: desueui (eum) ne quo ad cenam iret extra consilium meum; remarking (94 27) that the verb is being used in the sense of 'desuefacere'. Thus the present example would mean 'dishabituate the voice' rather than 'become unaccustomed to the voice'. For the latter meaning, an analogy might be found in the occasional use of the accusative with 'assuescere', e.g. Virg. Aen. VI 83²/₇ ne tanta animis assuescite bella; Tac. Germ. 4 frigora atque inedia ... adsueuerunt. Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.96.

15 p.2³/₇ 7 grauioribus uiris breui spatio satis uidebatur taciturnitas modificata. 'For the more serious-minded, silence measured (limited) by a short period of time seemed sufficient.' The passive participle is used at De deo Socr. 9 in the sense of 'balanced'; cf. Cic. Or. III 186 membra illa modificata esse debent. Apuleius also uses the post-classical deponent 'modificari' at De Plat. II 12 and Metam. XI 21. loquaciores enimuero. 'enimvero' is here adversative, cf. 9 p.11 11, 3 p.5 11 and see note on 'aquila enimuero' at 2 p.2 13. For the antithesis between 'grauiores' and 'loquaciores', cf. Cicero Flacc. 11 non optimus quisque nec grauissimus, sed impudentissimus loquacissimusque deligitur.

ferme in quinquennium. Iambl. V.P. 71 and Diog. Laert. VIII 10 give a five-year period as normal for all students on entry to the school. Gellius I 9 3-4 says that the length of time varied 'pro aestimato captu sollertiae', but that no one was silent for less than two years. Hence Brantius proposed biennio for breui above. The idea that five years' 'banishment of the voice' was, as it were, a penalty imposed for talkativeness is peculiar to Apuleius. punieba(n)tur. H. Armini (Eranos XXVI 1929-30 p.332) defends the MS reading puniebatur (-n- is added by a later hand in F) as the deponent form, with Pythagoras as subject; cf. Metem. VIII 13 punita sum ... praedonem; Cic. Off. I 88 etc. The plural seems to be needed, however, to balance sectabantur above.

15 p.23 10 pythagorissat in plurimis. Cf. Plut. Plac. Philos. VI 6 (Mor. 887C) Πλάτων δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῦτοις πυθαγορίζει.

For Latin verbs in -isso from Greek -ιζω see note on 'patrissaret' at 3 p.4 4. Apuleius' view is in accordance with that of Aristotle Met. A 6 987 a 30. See Ross, Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics, Introduction p.xlv.

15 p.23 11 aeque et ipse <ut> in nomen eius a magistris meis adoptarer.

For the various suggestions supplying ut or cum in this sentence, see Helm app. crit.; the present reading follows Krüger. Brakman (Mnem. XXXV 1908 p.36) would place ut after eius, where he attests a lacuna; for this late position of ut he refers to Fl. 12 17 6 and to Apol. 87 quippe ita placuerat, in suburbana uilla potius ut coniungeremur. cum (Oudendorp and Salmasius) is possibly to be preferred on grounds of sense, as there is no reason to suppose that a similar probationary period was recognised in the Academy; cf. the vulgate reading adoptatus. For

in nomen ... adortarer cf. Suet. Iul. 83 Gaium Octauium etiam in familiam nomenque adoptauit. Apuleius seems to be referring to his own title as 'philosophus Platonicus' (cf. Apol. 10 Platonico philosopho; Apol. 39 philosopho ... qui se Platonicae scholae meminerit; cf. Gsell, Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie I 2115 philosopho Platonico Madaurensi ciues ornamento suo D.D.P.P.). eius: sc. Platonis, unless it be thought that eius refers to Pythagoras, in which case the metaphor of adoption would have to include the whole Pythagorean-Platonic tradition.

15 p.23 12 meditationibus academicis. Apuleius studied philosophy at Athens, cf. Fl. 18 p.35 15 and 20 p.41 2 ff. For 'meditationes' = 'studies' cf. Gellius XX 5 2 rhetoricas meditationes. academicis. The term denotes a philosophical tradition which was eclectic rather than purely Platonic; see Zeller, Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy (tr. L. R. Palmer 1931) pp.253 ff. and 284 ff. A reaction towards the older Platonism had set in by the time of Apuleius, though the link with Pythagoreanism was still maintained (Zeller p.285 ff.). For a recent discussion of Apuleius' Platonism see P. Merlan in the Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Mediaeval Philosophy p.70 ff.

15 p.23 13 cum dicto opus est ... cum tacito opus est. For the use of the ablative of the past participle with 'opus est', see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.764, Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.123. For Apuleius' claim that philosophy has taught him to speak, as well as to be silent, see note on 'tam ad bene dicendum quam ad bene uiuendum repertam' at 7 p.9 10 and Introduction pp.32-33.

15 p.23 15 ab omnibus tuis antecessoribus. See note on 'antecessores tuos' under 'non hercle penuria laudis, etc.' at 9 p.14 2 above. For

speculation on the identity of the proconsul to whom this final sentence is addressed, see introductory note. opportuni silenti; cf. Fl. 9 p.14 9 nihil quippe a te impetraui, quia nec postulaui, and the opening remarks of Fl. 17, tempestiuae uocis testimonium. Cf. 9 p.4 1 praedicabili testimonio tuo; 16 p.28 18 clarissimi et eruditissimi uiri tanto testimonio. For the objective genitive ('credit for'), cf. Pliny Epist. VI 22 6 integritatis testimonium; Quintilian XI 88 testimonium ... industriae.

FLORIDA 16

Fl. 16 begins as a speech of thanks for the award of a statue, asked for while Apuleius was present, but decreed during his absence at Persianae Aquae, where he has been convalescing after an accident. Apuleius compares this accident, which has temporarily separated him from his audience, to the death of Philemon, which occurred while an audience was waiting for him in the theatre. He then proceeds to express his thanks for the honour publicly done him, and mentions a book (or is it two books?) that he will write on the same theme. We soon learn, however, that thanks are chiefly due to his old school friend, Aemilianus Strabo, who two days before had sent a letter to the council requesting a site for Apuleius' statue, and, moreover, offering to pay for it. This leads Apuleius to point out that a statue, to be paid for out of public funds, is still owing to him, and he represents the council's enthusiastic reception of Aemilianus' proposal as virtually a promise that a second statue, this time a public gift, will in due course be decreed to him. He pretends that consideration of the second statue was merely postponed to the next meeting of the council, out of respect for Aemilianus Strabo, so that it would be ingratitude on his part not to mention it, though thanks will come more appropriately later. The passage ends with repeated eulogy of Aemilianus Strabo and the promise of a book to mark the dedication of the statue.

One has the impression, in reading Fl. 16, that its difficulties are chiefly caused by Apuleius himself and the line of strategy that he adopts, in starting from the position as it appeared to his audience,

namely that they had voted him a statue, and proceeding tactfully by degrees to a reminder that they had not in fact done so, but merely voted a site for a statue to be paid for by Aemilianus Strabo. This is not indeed the only possible interpretation of the passage; van der Vliet, for instance, believed that the second statue had already been decreed and accordingly emended quantum spero at p.29 35 to quantum comperio. Such a change is, however, purely arbitrary and cannot be accepted.

Scioppius made the ingenious suggestion that a new fragment begins at sed nunc impraesentiarum (p.27 13), so that the two halves of the present passage could be re-arranged to tell a somewhat different story. Let us call the first part 16a and the second part 16b. In 16b two statues are mentioned, the one, to be donated by Aemilianus Strabo, the other, a statue which Apuleius alleges has been postponed out of deference to Aemilianus; he makes out, however, that in decreeing the site of the first statue with such goodwill, the council have in principle endorsed the award of the second, which is to be paid for out of public money. In 16a, Apuleius thanks his audience for the award of a statue which was asked for while he was present~~ed~~ but decreed during his absence, and he explains the reasons for this absence. On Scioppius' theory, this situation could follow on from 16b, so that the decree passed during Apuleius' absence, and the 'beneficium' for which he hurries back to express his thanks, would relate to this second statue. This theory would explain certain anomalies, for instance why in 16a the 'principes Africae uiri' are directly addressed, whereas in 16b they are spoken of in the third person, and why the statue which is said to be decreed in 16a, becomes two statues, neither of which is decreed in the proper sense, in 16b. It fails to

explain, however, why Apuleius should have thought he was entitled to two statues, since the initiative for the first now appears to come entirely from Aemiliamus Strabo; the public demand mentioned at the beginning of 16a would, on this theory, relate to the second statue only, and would most naturally be taken as a reference to the scene in the curia in 16b. We should, moreover, need to assume that Apuleius was either present or at least in Carthage at the time when Aemiliamus made his proposal; otherwise 'quam mihi praesenti ... postulastis' is not explained, and we are left with two absences, only one of which is explained.

Returning to the view that Fl. 16 is a single passage, a further possibility remains to be considered, namely that the statue was in fact decreed, probably during the earlier part of Apuleius' absence from Carthage, but that the council had not yet got round to voting the money and commissioning the work, when Aemiliamus Strabo, hoping to expedite matters, intervened with his request for a site and offer to pay for the statue. That this practice was not abnormal is suggested by an inscription found at Mustitayⁿia and published in Carthago, Revue d'archéologie africaine XIV (1968) p.188, according to which a statue decreed in honour of Marcus Valerius Quinctus by the 'ordines Carthaginensium et Mustitanorum' was paid for by a single individual, one Publius Valerius, perhaps the recipient's brother. It would, however, considerably weaken Apuleius' case that a second statue was owing to him, if the first statue was, even in theory, a public award, and one would further need to assume that news of the earlier decree reached Apuleius only as he was leaving Persianae Aquae, presumably at the same time as the news of Aemiliamus' proposal (cf. 'beneficio uestro',

p.26 22). It seems more likely, therefore, that Aemilianus' intervention did not follow, but on the contrary anticipated, the formal award of the statue — although one had been asked for — and that this fact gave Apuleius his excuse to ask for a second statue. If so, the decree mentioned at the beginning of the passage (p.23 19) and the 'beneficium' which lent wings to Apuleius' feet, both refer to the council's support of Aemilianus' proposal, not to any earlier occasion on which a statue was formally voted.

The speech, though addressed to 'principes Africae uiri' (p.23 17., see note ad loc.), is not, it seems, delivered before the council (cf. 'in illa sanctissima curia' p.29 23), but in the presence of a general audience who are included in the 'uos' or second person plural: as, for instance, when Apuleius speaks of his absence, first 'a conspectu auditorii' (p.23 20), then 'ab hoc splendidissimo conspectu uestro' (p.24 1), and the intervening lines (22-24) could hardly be addressed to an audience that was not representative of the whole citizen body. At p.28 22 'apud principes Africae uiros' appears to refer more specifically to the council, but at p.29 22 'uobis' is in some sort of contrast, cf. 'uobis' at p.30 1 and see note ad loc. One must conclude that this mode of address, though appropriate for members of the council, is not confined to them, but is simply a more honorific equivalent of 'Karthaginienses' (cf. 18 p.38 8). This conclusion is supported by the opening sentence of Tertullian De Pallio: principes semper Africae, uiri Carthaginienses, uetustate nobiles, nouitate felices, gaudeo uos tam prosperos temporum, cum ita uacat ac iuuat habitus denotare. The time of the speech must lie somewhere between the two meetings of the council referred to (p.29 22-26).

16 p.23 17 priuquam ... occipiam ... prius. See note on 'priusquam ... occiperet ... prius' at 3 p.4 ll. principes Africae uiri. This is the generally accepted interpretation of the MS principes a. u., cf. 'apud principes Africae uiros' at p.28 22 below. However, u. is the standard abbreviation not only for uir but also for urbs, hence Colvius' suggestions principes Augustae urbis or amplissimae urbis. Apuleius' audience does not, however, consist of 'principes' in this sense (cf. p.30 1 and 9). In support of Africae uiri, cf. Apol. 24 Lolliano Auito c. u. (for consulari uiro or clarissimo uiro), and p. a. for publicorum Africae in the inscription cited below under 'Persianas aquas'. Wowerius refers to Tertullian De Pall. I 1 (cited above). Africae: i.e. the province; so 'prouincia Africa' at 9 p.14 22; cf. 18 p.35 13 ita mihi et patria in concilio Africae, id est uestro.

16 p.23 18 quam mihi praesenti honeste postulastis. Van der Vliet (Mnemosyne XXVIII 1900 p.16) suggests that praesenti may indicate a proposal made after a successful oration. postulastis certainly suggests popular demand rather than a motion in the council, which is against interpreting 'principes Africae uiri' in too narrow a sense. Compare the scene described at Apol. 73 omnes qui aderant ingenti celebritate basilicam, qui locus auditorii erat, complentes inter alia pleraque congruentissima uoce 'insigniter' adclamant petentes, ut remanerem, fierem ciuis Oeensium. But praesenti is also used in antithesis to absenti in the next clause, i.e. 'while I was among you'. honeste: 'as a mark of honour'.

16 p.23 19 absenti benigne decreuistis. On the question whether a statue was actually decreed, or whether this refers to the voting of a

site, as requested by Aemilianus Strabo (p.29 l ff.), see introductory note.

16 p.23 19 causam uobis allegare. 'allegare' is here used in the post-Augustan sense of 'adduce', 'report', cf. Pliny Pan. 70 2 hoc senatui adlegandum putasti. aliquam multos dies. Cf. Apol. 72 aliquam multis diebus decumbo; Cic. Verr. II 4 56 sunt uestrum aliquam multi qui L. Pisonem cognorint.

16 p.23 21 Persianas aquas. The site of these baths has been identified with the village of Hamam el-Lif, or Hamamel-Enf; see Tissot, Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique II p.125, who refers to an inscription found there (CIL VIII 1 p.132 no. 997): AESCULAPIO T. IULIUS PERSEUS COND(uctor) QUATTUOR P(ublicorum) A(fricae). The inscription is described as being on a marble epistyle above the entrance to the thermae. Tissot further identifies the site with the Ad Aquas (east of Maxula) of the Tabula Peutingeriana VI 1; see the map Tab. II of CIL VIII 1, and cf. RE II 1 303 57 and 295 12; Audollent Carthage romaine p.713. The Julius Perseus referred to in the inscription is no doubt the same as the Julius Persius mentioned at Fl. 18 p.38 22 ff. as a man noted for his public services and one of the characters in a dialogue which Apuleius has composed (see Introduction p.24). Since the Peutinger Map still has the name Ad Aquas, it may be supposed that Persianae Aquae was a local name given to the place after Julius Persius built his thermae there.

16 p.23 22 natabula ... medicabula. 'A place for bathing' and 'a place for a cure'; for the force of the suffix cf. 'stabulum' = 'stopping

place'. Both words are Apuleian and found here only. (Lewis & Short give 'natabula fluminis' from Julius Valerius Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis II 9 25, but the Teubner text (1888) has 'intranatabulis fluuii', with no mention of 'natabula fluminis' as a variant). The plurals are perhaps due to assimilation to the preceding aquas, or possibly by analogy with such plurals as 'stabula' and 'hospitia' (e.g. Virg. Aen. I 672, X 495). Cf. 'curricula' 9 p.15 13, 'mendicabula' 9 p.11 8.

16 p.23 23 nihil tantum, nihil tantulum. Cf. Cic. Att. XV 27 3 nec quicquam posthac non modo tantum, sed ne tantulum quidem praeterieris; De Domo Sua 73 tantum tantulumue consilium. et gnaros et iudices.

The intimate relation which Apuleius claims with his audience in this digression would be pointless unless it included the general public.

16 p.24 1 quid igitur de repentino ... distulerim. 'igitur' is resumptive after the digression introduced by 'quippe ita' (line 22); cf. 'cum igitur' at 2 p.2 17. Helm punctuates with a full-stop after distulerim, commenting in his app. crit. that it is doubtful whether the sense is being continued (i.e. whether the second indirect question is, like the first, dependent on 'causam allegare') or whether we should understand a new verb such as 'uultis scire'. If the second alternative is preferred, the construction might be compared to the indirect questions in Plautus and Terence which echo a direct question, e.g. Plaut. Most. 556 quid nunc faciundum censes? TR. ego quid censeam? (Roby, Latin Grammar II p.336). This interpretation is supported by the mark of interrogation which appears in φ (see Helm app. crit.). Oudendorp and others punctuate with a comma, thus taking this sentence in conjunction with the next: 'as to the reason why ...' Most editors

supply me as object for distulerim, which would seem, on any interpretation of the sentence, to be unavoidable. The examples from the Metamorphoses, cited by Helm in his app. crit., are of 'differre' without expressed object in the sense of 'postpone'. Kretschmann (p.82) quotes other examples of the omission of an object acc. in Apuleius (e.g. Metam. VIII 5 latenter abscondimus), none of which provides a satisfactory parallel. Van der Vliet, supplying me before de repentino, convincingly explains 'se differre' as equivalent to 'discedere', on the analogy of 'se conferre' (Mnemosyne XXVIII 1900 p.20). de repentino, found also at De deo Socr. prol. 3, seems to be formed by analogy with the more common 'de improviso'; Krüger wishes to substitute me for de. Apuleius has repentino without de at p.24 22 below and De Mundo 16; cf. Plaut. Pseud. 37 repentino occidi.

16 p.24 2 paulo secus simillimum. Apuleius uses 'paulo secus' in the sense of 'almost', 'very nearly'; Apol. 23 profiteor mihi ac fratri meo relictum a patre HS XX paulo secus. Cf. 'modico secus' at Metam. I 22 cum dicto modico secus progressus ostium accedo.

16 p.24 3 quam improvvisa pericula hominibus subito oboriantur. Scioppius proposed deletion of this clause as a gloss; others transpose it, either before exemplum (Krüger and van der Vliet), or after eius rei (Oudendorp). As the sentence now stands, it is not clear whether eius rei refers back to the preceding sentence or forward to 'quam improvvisa ... oboriantur'; alternatively it might be taken as dependent on simillimum, in which case it would refer back to the as yet unspecified cause of Apuleius' absence. Both clauses are needed to indicate the two points of similarity between Apuleius' accident and Philemon's death, namely

that both are cases of unforeseen human peril and both involve separation from a waiting audience.

16 p.24 4 de Philemone comico. A full-stop after comico seems to have been accidentally omitted in Helm's text. de ingenio eius cui satis nostis. If this is not mere flattery, it may be inferred that the plays of Philemon, like those of Plautus (18 p.34 13 ff.), were performed on the Carthaginian stage. For the Carthaginians' love of theatrical performances of all sorts, see A. Audollent, Carthage romaine p.684 ff.

16 p.24 5 an etiam de ingenio pauca uultis? For this type of question, which gives the impression of extempore speaking, see Introduction p.43. The Valpy edition of Oudendorp's text has the following note: "Videtur hoc dicere impulsus auditorum murmure, totam Philemonis historiam audire expetentium." The question imparts an air of liveliness which is in keeping with the overall tone of this passage, which, in spite of the sombre tale of Philemon's death, and the harrowing account of Apuleius' accident, is in general confident and light-hearted.

16 p.24 7 mediae comoediae scriptor. Philemon is usually classed as a poet of New Comedy; Anon. περί κωμωδίας 15, Kaibel CGF I 1 p.9; cf. the Souda s.v. He was, however, more than twenty years older than Menander, against whom he often competed, and it is possible that his plays were in some respects nearer to the style of Middle Comedy. In addition to fragments and titles, three of Plautus' plays, l'ercator, Mostellaria and Trinummus, are based on originals by Philemon. See T. B. L. Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy (2nd ed.), pp.125 ff. Webster discusses Apuleius' assessment of Philemon on p.142.

16 p.24 8 fabulasque cum Menandro in scaenam dictauit. If dictauit is accepted, this must mean 'composed plays for the stage at the same time as Menander'; this does not, however, seem a very natural meaning for cum Menandro. For 'dictare' = 'compose', cf. Hor. Sat. I 4 10, Epist. II 1 110; Persius I 52; Apul. Apol. 101 litteras matri dictet. Jahn proposes ductauit, which would give better sense, although the verb does not appear to be used elsewhere in this kind of context. Buecheler's suggestion datauit is supported by Diomedes Grammaticus (late 4th century A.D.), Keil Gramm. Lat. I p.490 16 f. togatas tabernarias in scaenam datauerunt praecipue duo, L. Afranius et T. Quinctius. Cf. the common phrase 'fabulam dare', Cic. Tusc. I 3, Brut. 73, Ter. Hec. 1, etc. See Norden, Die Antike Kunstprosa II p.957.

16 p.24 9 fortasse impar, certe aemulus. Later generations preferred Menander to Philemon, although his contemporaries often awarded the victory to Philemon. Cf. Quintilian III 7 18 quidam sicut Menander iustiora posterorum quam suae aetatis iudicia sunt consecuti; X 1 72 (Philemon) qui ut praue sui temporis iudiciis Menandro saepe praelatus est, ita consensu tamen omnium meruit credi secundus. namque eum etiam uicit saepenumero - pudet dicere. Colvius compares Gell. XVII 4 Menander a Philemone, nequaquam pari scriptori, in certaminibus comoediarum ambitu gratiaque et factionibus saepenumero uincebatur. eum cum forte habuisset obuiam, 'quaeso', inquit, 'Philemo, bona uenia dic mihi, cum me uincis, non erubescis?' pudet dicere is parenthetical (Roby, Latin Grammar II p.261), and refers generally to the defeat of a better poet by a worse; emendation is unnecessary.

16 p.24 ll argumenta lepidè inflexa. inflexa suggests the twists and turns of the plot; the word is, however, more often used of vocal or stylistic modulations and changes in the form of words, e.g. Cic. De Or. III 168 inflexo immutatoque uerbo; Brut. 38 (Demetrius) primus inflexit orationem; Tib. I 7 37 uoces inflectere cantu. R. Kassel (Rhein. Mus. CV 1962 p.92) suggests implexa; see next note on 'adgnitus lucide explicatos'.

16 p.24 ll adgnitus lucide explicatos. adgnitus or agnitus (= 'adgnitiones') is Cassaubon's conjecture for MSS adgnatos; ^{the word is not attested except in Paulinus} ~~if accepted, it would be~~ ^{of Nola (Ep 169)} found here only, but Apuleius has 'cognitus' for 'cognitio' at Metam.

IX 13. See note on 'repertu nouo commodum oriebatur' at 3 p.3 12 above.

adgnitus would mean 'recognitions' (ἀναγνώσεις), which usually provide the denouement of the plot and so would make reasonable sense with lucide explicatos. Leo's narratus (ALL XII p.98) does not improve the sense and is farther from the MS reading. Colvius' suggestion ac nodos (= ὁέσεις, πλοκή, Arist. Poet. 1455 b 24 ff., 1456 a 9) is supported by van der Vliet (linemosyne XKVIII 1900 p.21), and by Kassel (l.c. p.96), who cites Hor. A.P. 191-2 nec deus intersit, nisi dignus uindice nodus / inciderit. C. O. Brink, Horace on Poetry II p.253 defends the reading argumenta lepidè implexa ac nodos lucide explicatos, citing further instances of nodus in this technical sense from Donatus' commentary on Terence Andria: praef. II 1 (Wessner p.38) dum ... nodum fabulae soluat; on 404 haec scaena nodum innectit erroris fabulae. As Leo pointed out, however, the main objection to ac nodos is that it disturbs the balance of the phrases; as combined with implexa it becomes over-technical. Several titles of Philemon's plays suggest recognition scenes; see Webster, op.cit. pp.127 and 139.

16 p.24 12 personas rebus competentes, sententias uitae congruentes.

'Characters suitable to the action, sentiments agreeing with life'.

The praise of Philemon is not very particularised, but would apply almost equally to any New Comedy writer. Webster op. cit. p.142 observes that Philemon's moralising does not appear to have been as well adapted as Menander's to his characters and their particular situations, though this would not necessarily make it less acceptable to the audience.

16 p.24 13 ioca non infra soccum, seria non usque ad coturnum. A

neatly turned antithesis, suggesting variation of grave and gay, within the limits of the genre. non infra soccum: probably with reference to the indecency of Old Comedy.

16 p.24 14 rarae apud illum corruntelae, /e7tuti errores, concessi

amores. The MSS have et uti, which Leo (ALL XII p.98) judged to be out of place in this list of asyndeta (cf. Purser in Hermathera XIV p.397), and restored symmetry by reading tuti, 'harmless'. Webster (op. cit. pp.138-9) considers that the love affairs of the three plays adapted by Plautus (Vercator, Mostellaria, Trinummus) bear out Apuleius' judgment.

16 p.24 15 nec eo minus ... 'none the less for that', i.e. though

nothing is taken to extremes, there is a full complement of varied characters in the stock roles of comedy. For the characters in New Comedy, see P. Legrand, The New Greek Comedy, transl. J. Loeb (1917), pp.226-231; G. E. Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, pp.236 ff. Webster considers Apuleius' list on p.142.

16 p.24 15 leno periurus. The epithet is common; Helm compares Plaut. Capt. 57 *hic neque periurus lenost nec meretrix mala*; Cic. Rosc. Com. 20 *Ballionem illum improbissimum et periurissimum lenonem*; cf. Plaut. Pseud. 975. Arlt's conjecture perfidus has been accepted by van der Vliet, on the ground that it would give three balancing adjectives in -idus, corresponding to the three in -ens, -ator and -aces which follow; periurus could, in his opinion, have been substituted because it was the stock epithet (Mnemosyne XXVIII 1900 p. 21-2; cf. Purser in Hermathena XIV p. 396). But perfidus is not in itself so suitable an adjective as periurus, and the reason for the change seems insufficient.

16 p.24 17 patruus obiurgator. For the stern uncle, cf. Cic. Cael. 25 *fuit in hac causa pertristis quidam patruus, censor, magister; obiurgavit M. Caelium, sicut neminem unquam parens*. Cf. Hor. Sat. II 2 87, 3 88; Carm. III 12 3; Persius 1 11. sodalis opitulator et miles proeliator. opitulator is late and rare; proeliator is post-Augustan. All three nouns are used in a quasi-adjectival sense (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.157 fin.). Oudendorp's interpretation of proeliator (see Helm app. crit.), 'one who is always boasting of his battles and counting his wounds', is probably near the truth. Emendation to praedicator (Wowerius) or glorinator (Traube) does not seem justified.

16 p.24 18 parasiti edaces. Cf. Hor. Epist. II 1 173 *quantus sit Dossenus edacibus in parasitis*. patres tenaces. 'Stingy fathers'. Cf. Cic. Cael. 36 *patre parco ac tenaci*; Plaut. Capt. 289; Ter. Ad. 866. meretrices procaces. Cf. Cic. Cael. 49 *non solum meretrix sed etiam proterua meretrix procaxque*.

16 p.24 20 diu in arte comoedica nobilis. See note on 'in tibicinio nobilis' at 4 p.5 17. Philemon lived to a great age, estimates of which vary from 97 (Lucian Macrobioi 25 97) to 101 (the Souda).

His first victory was in 327, so that at his death in 264/3 he must have had at least 63 years of fame as a prominent playwright.

comoedica is one of the Greek loanwords in -icus which appear first or solely in Apuleius (Koziol p.309); cf. Apol. 10 iambicus; Metam. X 30 ephebicus. The adverb comoedice appears at Plaut. Mil. 213.

16 p.24 20 recitabat partem fabulae, quam recens fecerat. Apuleius seems to be making the strange suggestion that a Greek dramatist read a new play to an audience. Under the Roman empire this was, of course, the usual practice, even for dramatic works (cf. Juvenal I 3-6). Beare, The Roman Stage p.216 note, dismisses Apuleius' story as pure invention. Presumably Apuleius thought of the recitation as a preliminary to actual stage performance, since he mentions that the play was a recent composition. It is not clear what partem fabulae is intended to mean; possibly a series of extracts. According to Demetrius On Style 193, Philemon's literary style made his plays easier for reading, whereas Menander's looser style was more suited to the stage. recens as an adverb is pre- and post-classical; see Geisau, Indogermanische Forschungen XXXVI p.89, who refers also to Fl. 18 37 22 id a se recens inuentum; Metam. I 14 quasi recens utero matris editus; VII 14 recens nupta.

16 p.24 21 cumque iam in tertio actu ... iucundiores adfectus moueret. For the meaning of 'actus' and a discussion of the five-act rule, prescribed by Horace for tragedy (A.P. 189), see Brink, Horace on Poetry II pp.248-50. The fourth century commentators on Terence,

Donatus and Euanthius, assume five acts for Latin comedies and for their Greek counterparts, where divisions were more clearly marked by the chorus. There is, however, nothing to show that the third act of a five-act comedy was normally regarded as having a special emotional interest. It would therefore be reasonable to interpret 'tertius actus' with reference to a different principle of division, namely the division into protasis, epitasis, catastrophe, described by Donatus and Euanthius in very similar terms: Euanthius IV 5 (Wessner p.22) comoedia per quattuor partes diuiditur: prologum, protasin, epitasin, catastrophem. est prologus uelut praefatio quaedam fabulae ... protasis primus actus initiumque est dramatis; epitasis incrementum processusque turbarum ac totius, ut ita dixerim, nodus erroris; catastrophe conuersio rerum ad iucundos exitus patefacta cunctis cognitione gestorum. Cf. Donatus Com. VII 4 πρότασις est primus actus fabulae ... καταστροφή explicatio fabulae, per quam euentus eius approbetur. According to this division, if the protasis could be called 'primus actus' the 'tertius actus' might be supposed to coincide with the catastrophe or conuersio rerum, which is roughly equivalent to what Aristotle called the λύσις of a play (Poet. 1455 b 26 f.). It could, of course, be argued that 'primus actus' means no more than 'the beginning of the action', cf. Ter. Hec. 39 primo actu placeo. The identification of the 'tertius actus' with the final part of the play receives some support, however, from Cicero Qu. fr. I 1 46 illud te ad extremum et oro et hortor ut, tamquam poetae boni et actores industrii solent, sic tu in extrema parte et conclusione muneris et negoti tui diligentissimus sis ut hic tertius annus imperi tui tamquam tertius actus perfectissimus atque ornatissimus fuisse uideatur. The inescapable inference is that the

'tertius actus' had special importance for both poets and actors as the concluding section of the play; cf. Cicero Sen. 5 in hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam ... sequimur eique paremus: a qua non ueri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene descriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poeta esse neglectum. Cf. Cic. Sen. 64 ei mihi uidentur fabulam aetatis peregissee nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse. It must be admitted that at Verr. II 2 18 Cicero speaks of a 'quartus actus', but in a context which makes it unlikely that he was thinking of comedy. There is, of course, nothing to indicate that Cicero had comedy especially in mind in any of these passages, or that a similar division could not be applied to tragedy; Polybius III 48 8 speaks of catastrophe in connection with tragedy, as does Lucian Alex. 60. We may conclude that the term 'actus' was not always used with precision or in the same sense, but that by 'tertius actus' here Apuleius means the final part or denouement of the comedy.

16 p.24 21 quod genus in comoedia fieri amat. 'quod genus', normally used to introduce an example or comparison (see note at 9 p.12 11 'balteum, quod genus pictura Babylonica ... uarieatum'), here seems to stand in apposition to the whole sentence. fieri amat = Greek φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι. In Latin, 'amare' in this sense usually has a personal construction, e.g. Hor. Carm. III 16 9 f. aurum ... perrumpere amat saxa.

16 p.24 23 imber repentino coortus. See note on 'de repentino' at 16 p.24 1 above. ita ut mihi ad uos uenit usus muperrime. 'uenit usus' is here probably used in the sense of 'usu uenit' = 'happened'. For

'ad' in the sense of 'apud' cf. Cic. Phil.XIV 32 ad inferos poenas parricidi luent; Livy VII 7 4 neque segnius ad hostes bellum apparatur; I 3 8 celebre ad posteros nomen; Plaut. Poen. 727 mox ad praetorem quom usus ueniet (= 'when need arises'). differri auditorii coetum et auditionis coeptum coegit. For 'auditorium' in the sense of 'audience', cf. p.23 20 and 9 p.10 11. auditionis coeptum is used for the sake of paronomasia for 'auditionem coeptam' = 'the recitation that had begun', not 'the beginning of the recitation'. 'auditio' is used in the sense of 'lecture' by Gellius XIV 1 2 etc. coeptum may be the acc. of the rare noun 'coeptus' rather than of 'coeptum', cf. Cic. Fin. IV 41, Stat. Theb. XII 644. A. Audollent, Carthage romaine p.712, argues from this passage that public meetings were sometimes held in the open air at Carthage, elsewhere than in the theatre, on the assumption that the auditorium of the theatre at Carthage was covered, but this is unlikely ('lacunaria' at 18 p.34 6 probably refers to panelling on the stage roof). Vitruvius V 9 1 speaks of colonnades behind the stage where the audience may take shelter from a sudden shower; the awnings ('uela') would presumably give protection from the sun rather than from rain (see Robertson, A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture, p.279 ff.).

16 p.25 2 uariis postulantibus. uariis is the vulgate reading for MSS uanis; Fruterius suggested comuenis, Coluius amicis. Since there is little point in uariis here ('people of all kinds'), it seems preferable to read unanimis with P. Thomas (Rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belgique LIII 1910 p.146), which he suggests could have been written unais, whence MS uanis.

16 p.25 2 deincipiti die perlecturum: sc. promisit se. 'deinceps' as an adjective (cf. 'princeps') is found in the lex repetundarum, CIL I² 583 iudex deinceps (see Ernout-Meillet s.v. deinde p.167); cf. Paul. ex Fest. 75 4 deincipem antiqui dicebant proxime quemque captum. Hence Dousa reads deincipe here. The ablative deincipiti (Colvius prefers deincipite), on the false analogy of 'praeceps', 'anceps', is found here only (Koziol p.273).

16 p.25 4 frequentia comenere. The construction is according to sense. exaduersum. Here an adverb; see note on 'exaduersum Miletos' under 'Icario in mari' at 15 p.19 ll. serus adueniens amicis admittit. The MSS reading is amicus, which Wowerius corrected to amicis; Fulvius' amicus amicis is unnecessary repetition. Without amicus, adueniens becomes substantival; cf. Lucan VI 293 non sic Aetnaeis habitans in uallibus horret; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.156. locum sessui impertiant. Rohde's impertiant is also read by van der Vliet and Vallette. Oudendorp follows Wowerius in retaining the indicative of the MSS. sessui is Apuleian and found here only (Koziol p.272). For the dative, see note on 'quodcumque esui animatum uel laniatui' at 2 p.3 7.

16 p.25 6 extimus quisque excuneati queruntur. Cf. Prop. I 16 6 pulsata indignis saepe queror manibus; Petron. Sat. 129 quererer decepta; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.364. For the plural verb with quisque cf. Livy II 59 ll cetera multitudo sorte decimus quisque ad supplicium lecti; Plaut. Capt. 500 ubi quisque uident. excuneati is found here only: 'pushed off the seats' (from 'cuneus'); Brantius compares the verb 'excuriare' ('expel from the senate'), quoted from Varro by Nonius 36 27.

Kronenberg (Mnemosyne LVI 1928 p.48 note) compares the scene to Plato Charm. 155 b 9 ff.

16 p.25 7 occiunt inter se queri. queri ('complain') does not seem to give the right sense and corruption has been suspected; van der Vliet (Mnemosyne XXVIII 1900 p.23) suggests garrere, which is approved by Coulon (Revue de philologie XLIX 1925 pp.24-5). Others run this sentence together with the next: Purser's quieti ('having settled down') fails to carry conviction; Kronenberg's heri (Mnemosyne LVI 1928 p.49), either before or after the qui of the following clause, is ingenious, although heri does not normally mean 'the day before' (but cf. 'hesternum' p.25 24 below). I would myself propose inter se cieri, i.e. 'excite one another's interest' by exchange of question and answer about the earlier part of the play, thus creating the mood of anticipation which is indicated by 'sequentia expectare'.

16 p.25 9 cunctisque iam prioribus gnaris sequentia expectare. Emendation has been rife on this sentence. Wowerius' priorum assumes gnaris with active meaning, but the passive sense is common in Tacitus, e.g. Ann. I 63 paludem gnaram uincentibus; XI 32 gnara Claudio cuncta; cf. Apol. 12 rarissimo cuique piorum gnara (ignara, Helm). Helm retains the MS reading, taking cunctis as a dative with gnaris ('known to all'); Rohde proposed expectari. Krüger has cunctique ('they all waited'), which is a simple and effective change, if change is needed.

16 p.25 10 dies ire. Cf. Plaut. Pseud. 240a it dies; Ovid A.A. III 63 eunt anni; Hor. Carm. IV 57, Epist. II 2 55. a' condictum uenire. condictum is used as a substantive by Gellius XX 1 54 quoniam pactum

atque condictum cum rege populi Romani ruperat. Pyrrhus understands diem (cf. 'status condictusue dies' at Plaut. Curc. 5, Gell. XVI 4 4, and the common phrase 'ad diem'), but this seems to give the wrong meaning. Koziol p.286 translates "Verabredung, Zusage".

16 p.25 11 tarditatem poetae murmurari. Plautus uses 'murmurari' in the sense of 'complain' at Mil. 744 serui murmurant; but the verb does not normally take an object. For the deponent form, cf. Varro ap. Non. 478 murmurari coepimus; Claudius Quadrigarius (Nonius ibid.) populus murmurari coepit.

16 p.25 12 nec uspiam Philemon comparet. uspiam, normally found in affirmative clauses, is used by Apuleius as equivalent to usquam; cf. Metam. VII 26 nec uspiam ruris reperitur ille; Fl. 14 p.19 5. The repetition of the name Philemon suggests the central importance of the absent poet in the minds of the waiting audience; cf. 'Philemonem poetam' at line 20 below.

16 p.25 13 acci/p/erent. Stewechius proposed accirent, Grosclatius accierent for M'S acciperent. 'accieo' is attested ^{apart from grammarians and glossaries} only at Plaut. Mil. 935 ego illum probe iam oneratum acciebo ^{and Sil Ital. XIII 366} p.25 14 eum in suo sibi lectulo mortuum offendunt. Krüger's ei (nom. pl.) is rightly rejected by Koziol p.79 f. For suo sibi, see note on 'suis sibi manibus' at 9 p.12 6. Philemon's death is reported differently elsewhere: (a) Lucian Macrobiol 25 and 97, Val. Max. IX 12 ext. 6 and the Souda report that he died of a fit of uncontrollable laughter; (b) Plutarch an seni sit ger. resp. 3 (Mor. 785B) says he died while being crowned at a dramatic contest; (c) a second account in the Souda states that he died at work finishing a new play.

16 p.25 15 commodum ille anima edita obriguerat. For 'commodum' = 'just then' see note on 'reperit nouo commodum oriebatur' at 3 p.3 12. obriguerat, with reference to 'rigor mortis', appears to be unique.¹ The detail is relevant to the impression of resemblance to a statue or work of art that Apuleius is creating here, iacebatque incumbens toro. Cf. Virg. Aen. IV 650 incubuitque toro dixitque nouissima uerba. similis cogitanti. See note on 'canenti similis' at 15 p.20 13 (under 'deam conspiciens'). Again, the phrase suggests a work of art.

16 p.25 16 adhuc manus uolumini implexa, adhuc os recto libro impressus. The change of subject, and apparently also of construction, has given rise to various emendations. Oudendorp accepts impressum, the reading of ϕ and also the vulgate reading. Helm, in support of impressus, refers to Virg. Aen. IV 659 os impressa toro, to Apul. Metam. VIII 9 toro faciem impressa, and several other instances which illustrate Apuleius' fondness for this type of construction. Geisau, Indogermanische Forschungen XXXVI 1916 p.84, accepts implexa as a change of subject (cf. note on 'caput tunditur' under 'cum sermonem nostrum ... ut persentiscat' at 12 p.17 5), a change which he attributes to a desire in Apuleius sometimes to break the prevailing assonance. Bosscha suggests manus uolumen implexa (possibly taking implexa as a middle) or manum uolumini implexus. To this might be added manus (acc. pl.) uolumini implexus, since two hands were probably needed to hold the roll, and the corruption to implexa would be more easily explained. recto libro. Calvius proposed lecto libro, but Kronenberg (CR XVIII 1904 p.447) defends recto as aptly depicting the pensive pose (cf. 'similis cogitanti' above), in which the chin rested on the upright

¹ In the few other instances cited by TLL in which the verb is used of a dead body, the reference seems to be to the chill of death rather than the (temporary) stiffening of the body, which is clearly meant here

roll. Oudendorp, Bosscha and Purser (Hermathena XVI p.153) assume a reading pose, i.e. with the roll open. If the roll is shut, it is possible that os ... impressus has something to do with the winding process, or with the practice of kissing the roll as a sign of acknowledgment to the audience after a recitation; cf. Martial I 3 7 *dum basia iactas*; I 66 8 (*charta*) *quae trita duro non inhorruit mento*; X 103 6 *sic noua nec mento sordida charta iuuat*. This would give additional point to the next sentence, sed enim iam ... libri oblitus et auditorii securus, since the pose would suggest that Philemon's last thoughts had been with his audience. animae ... libri ... auditorii. For Apuleius' frequent use of such genitives, see Kretschmann p.127 and cf. 6 p.6 7 above.

16 p.25 19 tam formonsae mortis miraculo. Again the thought is of a work of art; but the beauty is partly symbolic, as is shown by the next sentence: death has caught Philemon in a pose which typifies his life's work, and the end of the play is also the end of the drama of life. For the spelling 'formonsus', see F. Sommer, Handbuch der lat. Laut- und Formenlehre p.247. Wowerius' famosae is presumably anticipatory ('soon to be famous').

16 p.25 22 ueram fabulam consumrasse. For the comparison of death to the end of a play, cf. Suetonius' account of the death of Augustus (Aug. 99): *admissos amicos percontatus, ecquid iis uideretur mimum uitae commode transegisse, adiecit et clausulam*:

ἐπεὶ δὲ πῶνυ καλῶς πέκαισται, ὁδτε κρότον

καὶ πάντες ἡμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προλέμψατε.

Cf. Cic. Sen. 70 *neque sapientibus usque ad 'plaudite' ueniendum est*;

ibid. 85 senectus autem est aetatis peractio tamquam fabulae; Seneca Epist. 78 20 quomodo fabula, sic uita, non quam diu, sed quam bene acta sit, refert. Epictetus IV 1 165 compares the death of Socrates to the performance of an actor who knows where to stop. Sen. Epist. 80 7 hic humanae uitae mimus.

16 p.25 23 enimvero. See note on 2 p.2 13 above. iam dixisse rebus humanis ualere et plaudere, suis uero familiaribus dolere et plangere. For 'ualere dicere', perhaps a contamination of 'ualere iubere' (Cic. Att. V 2 2) and 'uale dicere' (Ovid Trist. I 3 57, Sen. Epist. 17 11), cf. Suet. Galba 4 4 ut ... mane saluere, uesperu ualere sibi singuli dicerent. Apuleius has coined a similar phrase 'plaudere dicere' from 'plaudite', and extended the usage to the contrasting pair, 'dolere et plangere', which correspond rhythmically to the first. Cf. ἡέγω with the infinitive in Greek, and the use of 'disco' with the infinitive of Greek verbs, esp. Cic. Att. VIII 8 2 τίς ποτὲ χαίρειν τοῦ κακοῦ δίκως

16 p.25 24 hesternum illi(s) imbrem lacrimas auspicasse. Rohde's correction illis for MSS illi is necessary for the sense. 'auspicare' is here used in the unusual sense of 'portend'; I can find no other instance of the verb with this meaning. 'auspicare' is ante-classical; Apuleius also uses 'auspicari' in the sense of 'inaugurare', 'enter upon' at Apol. 73 (fin.); cf. Metam. VIII 8 noli parricidio nuptias auspicari.

16 p.25 25 comoediam eius prius ad funebrem facem quam ad nuptialem uenisse. That is to say, the marriage with which the comedy should have ended was forestalled by his own death, a variation on the literary commonplace by which death and marriage are interchanged for the same person: e.g. Ovid Her. XXI 172 et face pro thalami fax mihi mortis adest; cf. Trast. II 561; Lucan I 112.

16 p.26 1 proin. For proinde, an archaism. personam uitae deposuerit. The metaphor suggests the actor, who lays aside the mask, rather than the poet, but the distinction is not always maintained; see under 'ueram fabulam consummasse' at p.25 22 above. eius exsequias eundum. For 'ire exsequias', cf. Ter. Phorm. 1026; Ovid Ar. II 6 2; Sil. Ital. XV 384-5; cf. Apul. Metam. IV 34 comitatur ... exsequias. legenda ... ossa. The collection of the bones after cremation is the final act of love and piety; cf. Prop. IV 1 127 ossaque legisti non illa aetate legenda / patris; II 24 50 uix uenit, extremo qui legat ossa die; cf. I 17 12. mox carmina: sc. legenda. One of Apuleius' less happy puns. For carmina used of dramatic poetry, cf. Cic. Tusc. I 37, III 59.

16 p.26 6 hodie s<u>m e meo periculo recordatus. This is Salmasius' emendation of MSS audies me meo. Oudendorp objects to hodie on the ground that the accident took place earlier; P. Thomas (Publ. de l'acad. roy. de Belgique 1902 p.296) defends it as a deliberate suggestion on the part of Apuleius that the speech is extempore. For numerous other suggestions, none of which seems to improve matters, see Helm's critical apparatus.

16 p.26 7 recitatio. The word suggests that Apuleius was about to read one of his literary works to the audience, cf. 18 p.38 21 ff. in propinquum diem. Apuleius is apparently using 'propinquus' in the sense of 'proximus': 'to the following day'.

16 p.26 8 et quidem Philemonis exemplo paerissime. For et quidem, see note under 'et quidem non in uno genere studiorum' at 9 p.11 21. The clause points forward to what follows: 'and that too very nearly

following Philemon's example', i.e. I had an accident that was very nearly fatal. paenissime. The superlative is peculiar to Plautus and Apuleius; cf. Plaut. Aul. 466 perdidit paenissime; Most. 656; Apul. Metam. VIII 6 paenissime ... reddidit animum; Apol. 99 nam, quod paenissime oblitus sum, etc.

16 p.26 11 tamen articulus loco concessit, exque eo luxu adhuc fluxus est. 'Nevertheless (although it did not break) the joint shifted from its socket, and is still weak from that dislocation.' Butler wrongly translates 'returned to its socket'. Cf. Paul. ex Fest. 119 17 luxa membra e suis locis mota et soluta. fluxus = 'loose', 'slack', probably used here for the sake of the assonance.

16 p.26 12 dum eum ingenti plaga reconcilio. Butler translates: 'My efforts to reduce the dislocation were so great.' However, Apuleius seems to be saying that he tried to put back the dislocated joint 'with a mighty blow', i.e. that he hit the joint to force it into place (so Oudendorp and Bosscha) — an odd treatment for a dislocation. It is less likely that ingenti plaga = 'ex ingenti plaga' ('from such a serious injury'); see Oudendorp ad loc. Ancient physicians regarded a badly dislocated ankle as hopeless, cf. Galen XIV pp.796-7 (Kühn) κατὰ δὲ τὰ σφυρὰ βραχεῖα μὲν παρεναλλαγή γινομένη δυσσασπαστά-στατος. πολλή δὲ καὶ βίαιος οὐδὲ ἀνέχεται τὴν διόρθωσιν. The usual treatment was to pull the joint, cf. Galen I p.270 χωρὶς ἀντιτάσεως ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι τὴν ἐμβολήν.

16 p.26 13 iamiam sudoro adfatum corpore. For the repetition of iam to highlight a moment of intense feeling, cf. Virg. Aen. II 701 iam iam

nulla mora est; Apul. Metam. I 16 iam iam grabatule ... tu mihi ad inferos festinanti subministra telum salutare; Koziol p.130 ff. sudoro is found here only; Koziol p.277. adfatim with an adjective is found only in later Latin; cf. Metam. IX 10 adfatim onustum.

16 p.26 14 diutule obrigui. See note on 'diutule' at 2 p.1 15. Van der Vliet (Mnemosyne XXVIII 1900 p.17 note), in suspecting a lacuna after diutule because of the aoristic obrigui, overlooks the frequent use of diu with the perfect. 'obrigescere' = 'to become stiff', usually with cold, but used of a dead body at p.25 15; here it seems to indicate a sort of muscular cramp (= 'rigores', Pliny N.H. XXVI 130, XXXV 46), rather than a shivering fit, = 'rigor' in the modern sense, cf. Greek ῥίγος, Hippocrates Anhorisms IV 46.

16 p.26 15 modico ante. This use of 'modico' = 'paulo' seems to start with Apuleius; cf. 'modico prius' at Metam. I 7, II 16 and Apol. 17; 'modico secus', 'modico deinde', Metam. I 22; cf. Martianus Capella VIII 886 modico minus. uiolentus exanimaret; sc. uiolentia sua. For the adverbial use of adjectives, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.172.

16 p.26 16 ante letum abire quam lectum. There is doubt whether the MSS reading is abire (Helm) or obire (van der Vliet). Pyrrhus read obire, which gives good sense: 'to meet death sooner than perform a reading', lectum being taken as acc. of the fourth declension noun 'lectus', which is attested in Priscian. Purser (Hermathena XIV p.410) understands obire in the sense of 'go to', but this is unnecessary, cf. Metam. IV 34 f. stino istas nuptias obire. Vallette and Helm read

abire, taking lectum as the supine. Stewechius read abire in the MSS and emended to adire; cf. Virg. Aen. VI 375 ripamue iniussus adibis, where the reading abibis also occurs and was known to Servius (see Conington ad loc.). For the infinitive with 'compellere' see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.346.

16 p.26 17 potius implere fata quam fanda. This clause means much the same as the previous one: 'to fulfil my fate rather than my lecture engagement', with the play on fata and fanda taking the place of the paronomasia of letum and lectum. implere fata (sc. mea) = 'die'; the phrase normally means to 'fulfil fate', not necessarily by dying; cf. Livy I 7 11, VIII 6 11. For fata in the sense of death, cf. Ovid Her. 118 si mea fata petis; Juvenal 10 146 quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris.

16 p.26 17 consummare potius animam quam historiam. Cf. 'ueram fabulam consum^{ss}asse', p.25 22 above. historiam. It is hard to assess the nature of the 'historia' here referred to: perhaps 'tale' or 'chronicle', cf. Metam. II 12 nunc historiam magnam et incredundam fabulam et libros me futurum; VI 29 perpetuabitur historia 'asino uectore uirgo regia fugiens captiuitatem'; VIII 1 in historiae specimen chartis inuoluere; Propertius II 1 16 maxima de nihilo nascitur historia. But popular collections of quasi-scientific or biographical material could also be referred to as 'historia', cf. Aelian's Ἱστορίων ἰστορία. At 9 13 9 'historias uarias rerum' are included among Apuleius' prose works. See also note on 'Xenophon historias' at 20 p.41 7.

16 p.26 18 apud Persianas aquas leni temperie. Of place, 'apud' normally means 'near' or 'around' rather than 'at', e.g. Cic. Agr. I 5 agros in Hispania apud Carthaginem nouam ... possessos; Tac. Hist. I 1 postquam bellatum apud Actium. leni temperie; with reference either to the mild air or to the temperature of the mineral water, see 'blando fomento' below.

16 p.26 19 nec minus utiquam blando fomento. The vulgate reading is nec minus utili quam, which gives good sense; the MSS reading uti quam has been accepted by Rohde and Helm. utiquam is not found elsewhere (apart from conjectural emendations at Fl. 17 p.33 5 and Apol. 71 init.), except in the negative expression ne utiquam or neutiquam; cf. Ter. And. 330 ne utiquam officium liberi hominis esse puto, where Donatus comments: neutiquam una pars orationis est pro nequaquam; at Ter. Hec. 125 he gives the meaning as non minus. Helm accordingly interprets utiquam by itself as = aliquo modo, which is not very convincing. It seems possible, however, that, since the expression neutiquam was probably obsolete in Apuleius' day, he is using utiquam here as a false archaism in place of utique ('by any means').¹ Cf. neutique for neutiquam which occurs in the Codex Theodosianus; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.204. blando fomento. In medical language, 'fomentum' is a soothing application or poultice, usually warm, whether liquid or dry; also a bandage or dressing, e.g. Tac. Ann. I 65, XV 55. Apuleius uses the word in a wider sense of 'medical treatment' or 'cure' at Metam. VII 18 donec fomenti uice ipsae me plagae suscitarent. Here the word is probably used of the healing properties of the mineral water, which was a hot spring (see note on 'Persianas aquas' at p.23 21 above). Tissot op. cit. p.126 reports that the present temperature

¹Scriverius proposed utique; cf. note on 'utiquam' at 17 p.33 5.

of the water is 51°C (or 122°F). Cf. Sen. Epist. 122 8 non uiuunt contra naturam qui hieme concupiscunt rosam fomentoque aquarum calentium ... florem uernum exprimunt? Apuleius also uses the word in a metaphorical sense at Metam. II 21 paupertati meae fomenta conquiro.

16 p.26 20 gressum reciperaui, nondum quidem ad innitendum idonee.

The indicative normally follows 'cum primum' under the influence of 'ubi primum' and 'simul ac' (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.625). For 'gressus' = 'ability to walk', see note on 'gressus hominibus' under 'uolatus auibus, uolutus serpentibus' at 10 p.16 10. ad innitendum: sc. talo. For the rare adverb idonee, cf. Cic. Inv. I 20 exordium est oratio animum auditoris idonee comparans ad reliquam dictionem. Apuleius uses it here and at Metam. VII 28 in the sense of 'sufficiently'.

16 p.26 21 ueniebam ... cum interim uos mihi beneficio uestro ... clauditem dempsistis. 'I was on my way' or 'I was on the point of coming'; the cum-clause is inverted. beneficio uestro. Cf. p.23 18 (statuam quam mihi) absenti benigne decreuistis, and see introductory note. clauditem: here only in Apuleius; cf. Pliny N.H. VIII 169, XXVIII 33 and 35.

16 p.27 1 non quin ... mereatur, sed ut integrum et intemeratum esset uestrum beneficium. Apuleius seems to be saying that he did not ask for a statue, not because to do so would have been unworthy of a philosopher, but in order to increase the value of the gift, if it should be entirely unsolicited. The statement implies that Apuleius had known, or at least guessed, that he was to be given a statue. For non quin, 'not that ... not', cf. Cic. Fam. IV 7 1 non quin ab eo ipse dissentiam, sed quod ea te sapientia esse iudicem, ut meum consilium

non anteponam tuo'; Livy II 15 2 non quin breuiter reddi responsum ~~non~~ potuerit ... sed ut in perpetuum mentio eius rei finiretur. The change of tense from mereatur to esset appears to represent a change of viewpoint, from a general statement to a more specific time in the past corresponding to 'nullas preces dixeram', which is understood from the previous sentence.

16 p.27 4 defregisset. 'defringere' is used metaphorically by Seneca in the sense of 'impair' at Epist. 92 2 id autem unum bonum est, quod numquam defringitur. The verb continues the thought of 'integrum' and 'intemeratum'; Brantius' defrugasset ('rob of fruit') is less suitable. id est, ut usque quaque esset gratuitum. Floridus deletes this clause as a gloss; Becker, Studia Apuleiana p.38 supports the deletion on the somewhat curious ground that in Apuleius the use of usque quaque is confined to adjectives. The clause is needed, however, to complete the sense and make the connection with the next sentence.

16 p.27 4 necue enim aut leui mercede emit qui precatur, aut paruum pretium accipit qui rogatur. Elmenhorst compares Seneca Ben. II 1 non tulit gratias qui, cum rogasset, accepit, quoniam quidem ... nulla res carius constat quam quae precibus empta est. ut ... emere uelis quam rogare. Pyrrhus refers to Cic. Verr. II 6 12 profecto hinc natum est 'malo emere quam rogare'. Cf. Otto Sprichwörter p.124; Norden, Apuleius von Madaura und das römische Privatrecht p.167 f. discusses Apuleius' use of this maxim. For quam without 'potius' or 'magis', cf. Apol. 28 officii gratia quam lucri causa²; Kretschmann p.103; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr p.593.

16 p.27 8 qui ... exorauerit. There is no obvious difference in meaning between this relative clause and qui ... adentus es⁴ below to account for the use of subjunctive and indicative respectively, except that the second clause refers to an actual cause, i.e. Apuleius' own. Apuleius appears to like this sort of variety; cf. 3 p.4 13 ff. *laudans sese, quod erat ... contra Apollinem ... culpabat, quod Apollo esset, etc.*

16 p.27 9 (u)nam gratia(m). unam is the vulgate reading, but unam gratiam seems an odd phrase. Van der Vliet (*Mnemosyne* XXVIII 1900 p.23) proposed diuiduam gratiam ('half the thanks'), which is, however, farther from the MSS reading. Novak's deletion of MSS nam is perhaps the simplest solution of the difficulty.

16 p.27 12 immo enimvero multiugam. The full-stop in Helm's text after debeo is best taken as a damaged comma, which appears correctly in Vallette's text. For immo enimvero, see note at 2 p.2 4. For multiugam, see note on 'totiugi scientia' under 'tam numerosa arte multiscium' at 9 p.13 5.

16 p.27 13 nunc impraesentiarum. 'Here and now'. Cf. 'impraesentiarum' at 9 p.15 16 and note ad loc.; 'nam nunc impraesentiarum' at p.28 10 below. For Scioppius' view that a new fragment begins here, see introductory note. libro isto ad hunc honorem mihi conscripto. Helm (addenda p.51) now wishes to delete his suggested nondum, which has been accepted by Vallette. Rohde proposed iusto for isto; for the meaning of isto ('this book of mine'), cf. 'baxeas istas' at 9 p.13 12 and see note on 'optutum istum terrenum' at 2 p.2 10. Interpretations of this difficult passage have been hampered by too strict a limitation of nunc impraesentiarum,

which, in contrast to ubique equidem et semper of the previous sentence, refers to the immediate future rather than the immediate present: 'but here and now, when my book celebrating this honour has been written, I will make a public declaration of thanks, as is my custom.' It is therefore unnecessary to postulate a lacuna after nunc impraesentiarum, with Purser (Hermathena XIV p.410) who proposes to supply e.g. 'incondita haec dico, postea gratiarum', or a pause indicating a break in thought, with Kronenberg (Mnemosyne LVI 1923 p.54), who regards the rest of the passage down to 'hos regit artus' (p.28 10) as in parenthesis. P. Thomas (Rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belgique XLIII 1910 p.1/6) thinks that two books are in question here, the one referred to by isto (or iusto) libro, and the 'liber quem Strabonis Aemiliani excellentissimus honor flagitat' spoken of below. Van der Vliet (Mnemosyne XXXVIII 1910 p.16) goes so far as to postulate three books, the first being a published version of the present speech (he therefore supports Rohde's iusto for isto), and the other two books of thanks to Aemilianus Strabo and the Carthaginians respectively for the award of two separate statues (see introductory note). It is common to all these interpretations that they assume a more or less sharp contrast between Apuleius' present speech, to which they suppose nunc impraesentiarum refers, and the book or books which are to follow. I would point out, however, that the present speech is not in fact mentioned until line 19 (see note on 'satis eum hodie uobiscum parare'), where a thought transition occurs from the promised book to the present occasion. Thus when the words 'nunc impraesentiarum' occur again at p.28 10, the reference is to the immediate present.

16 p.27 15 qua debeat philosophus ... gratias agere. philosophus
 is Colvius' correction of MSS philosopho. Krüger and Hildebrand read
debeat philosopho. The subjunctive is consecutive or generic; cf.
 Cic. Acad. II 78 haec est una contentio quae adhuc permanserit. ob
decretam sibi publice statutam. Cf. p.23 19 (statuam quam mihi) absenti
 benigne decreuistis. But the plot now begins to thicken: see following
 note.

16 p.27 17 a qua paululum demutabit liber, /e/quem Strabonis ... honor
flagitet. This is the first hint that there is anything unusual in the
 situation. As we learn later, Aemiliamus Strabo not only requested a
 site for the statue (p.29 1), but also offered to pay for it de suo
 (p.29 14), so that Apuleius appears to be arguing that the present
 statue both is, and is not, 'publice decreta'. Cf. below, p.29 22 ff.
demutabit is Stewechius' correction of demutauit (F), which is necessary
 unless it be supposed that Apuleius is referring to the plan of the
 book as it already exists in his mind. The verb is intransitive here
 and elsewhere in Apuleius; cf. Apol. 16 quanquam teterrimum os tuum
 minimum a Thyesta tragico demutet; Metam. I 13; Plaut. Mil. 1130, Stich.
 723, Pseud. 566; Koziol pp.292 and 311 note 1. liber /e/quem. liber
quem is the vulgate reading for MSS libere quam. Krüger omits libere
 and interprets quam as referring back to ratio, a reading which van der
 Vliet regards as 'intolerable' (Gnomosyne XXVIII 1900 p.19 f.). Löfstedt,
Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Späteren Latinität (Stockholm 1907) p.20 f.,
 defends the reading liber quam, interpreting quam as ut; see Leumann-
 Hofmann-Szantyr II p.593. Helm (addenda p.51) now wishes to read libro
quem, thus leaving demutabit without an unequivocal subject. excellenti-
ssimus honor. Van der Vliet (Gnomosyne XXVIII 1900 p.18) takes this as

a reference to the compliment which Aemilianus has paid Apuleius; it seems more natural, however, to take it as preliminary to the praise of Aemilianus himself.

16 p.27 19 satis eum hodie uobiscum parare. satis is Helm's conjecture (approved by Rohde, Rhein. Mus. XL p.112) for MSS scitis. uobiscum parare was suggested by van der Vliet; Helm (addenda p.51) now wishes to restore probare, which is also read by Vallette. P. Thomas (Bull. de l'acad. roy. de Belgique 1902 p.296 f.) proposes si ei (sc. Aemiliano Straboni) istum hodie uobiscum probaro, thus making the sentence transitional to the next, 'est enim tantus in studiis, etc.' Cf. Colvius' suggestion, si is ... probarit. For various other proposals, see Helm's app. crit. I would myself suggest that the MSS reading could be retained, if scitis were taken as an adjective in agreement with uobiscum (as presumably by Colvius in his first suggestion, si scitis ... probarit): 'to-day (I shall hope to be able) to test it out (or win approval for it) with the help of your knowledgeable selves.' The whole sentence from 'quem librum' to 'uobiscum probare' would thus be virtually in parenthesis. For Apuleius' assessment of the critical powers of his audience, cf. 9 p.10 21 ff. and De deo Socr. prol. 1, where the reaction of the audience is claimed to be a formative influence on the development of the speech.

16 p.27 20 est enim tantus in studiis. tantus is perhaps being used in a way similar to 'multus' in such phrases as 'multus adesse'; cf. Sallust Jug. 96 3 in operibus, in agmine atque ad uigilias multus adesse; Florus IV 2 50 multus in eo proelio Caesar fuit. praenobilior. For intensives in prae- see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.164. 'praenobilis' appears first in Apuleius; cf. Metam. VIII 1 iuuenis natalibus praenobilis; X 25 illa praenobilis potio.

16 p.28 1 patricio consulatu. See note on 'pauci nobiles genere' at 8 p.9 24. Aemilius Strabo was consul suffect in A.D. 156 (CIL VI 2086; cf. PIR III 674).

16 p.28 2 quot umquam fuerunt aut sunt aut etiam erunt. Helm compares Catullus 21 2-3 non harum modo, sed quot aut fuerunt / aut sunt aut aliis erunt in annis; also Cat. 24 2-3 and 40 2-3. clarissime. For this title, see Mommsen, Römische Staatsrecht III 1 p.470 f., L. Homo, Roman Political Institutions pp.346, 348 and 359. inter utrosque doctissime. Cf. the climax at 8 p.10 2 'ex bonis pauci eruditi'. For the eulogy cf. Plaut Capt. 836 quantum est hominum optumorum optume; Apul. Metam. XI 30 deus deum magnorum potior et maiorum summus et summorum maximus et maximorum regnator Osiris; Koziol p.200.

16 p.28 5 quibus tandem uerbis ... qua digna ratione ... qua remuneratione dicendi. For the triple structure of clauses with virtually the same meaning, cf. p.26 15-18 and below 11-14. gratiam habitum et commemoratum eam. Cf. Plaut. Cist. 4 qui magi' potueristis mihi honorem ire habitum nescio; Apul. De deo Socr. 19 daemon ille ferme prohibitum ibat, nunquam adhortatum; Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.722. qua remuneratione dicendi. dicendi (in contrast with 'tui facti') is a defining genitive; cf. Cic. Att. V 21 7 nullos honores mihi nisi uerborum decerni sino.

16 p.28 9 conitar. Less common of mental effort; cf. Cic. Off. III 6 quantum coniti animo potes. 'dum memor ... artus': Virgil Aen. IV 336.

16 p.28 10 nam nunc irpraesentiarum. Cf. p.27 13. Again 'nunc irpraesentiarum' is contrasted with a distant future, but the reference is now to the immediate present. Apuleius pretends that he is at the

moment too overcome with joy to express his gratitude coherently.

diffitebor: 'deny' (rare). opstrepit: 'impedes'; cf. Curt. VI 10 14 obstrepente ira. praedicare: here used absolutely = 'make a public declaration'; cf. Ter. Eun. 721 *utrum taceam an praedicemne?*

16 p.28 15 grati(a)s. The vulgate reading for MSS gratis. Helm's suggestion grates is supported by H. Armini (Eranos XXVI p.332) on the basis of the ps.-Apuleian Asclepius 10 *laudes gratesque maximas agens deo*.

16 p.28 16 ex illis tristioribus. Another reference to Apuleius' detractors, cf. 7 p.9 9 ff., 9 p.10 5 ff. For the comparative used in a contrastive sense to denote a group, cf. 'iuniores' at 6 p.7 11, and Catullus 5 2 *rumoresque senum seueriorum*.

16 p.28 16 quod honorem meum /non/ minus mereor quam intellego. Helm in his app. crit. interprets 'that I deserve the honour even less that I realise', but now wishes (addenda p.51) to retain non and read uereor, with the Aldine edition. Butler translates: 'if the honour bestowed on me makes me no less nervous than appreciative'; Oudendorp takes uereor as = reuer/or (which is the proposed reading of Brantius), and interprets the charge as one of adulation. Vallette in his edition retains the MSS reading non minus mereor quam intellego, but in his translation appears to ignore non: 'Qu'aucun, aucun esprit chagrin ne trouve mauvais que je sache moins me montrer digne de l'honneur qui m'échoit que je n'en sens le prix'. Van der Vliet follows Floridus in transposing mereor and intellego. It seems to me that none of these readings makes really good sense, but if the MSS reading is to be

retained, it is necessary to take mereor in the sense of 'earn', 'pay for', rather than 'deserve'; again, the imputation would be one of flattery. quod ... exulto: either explaining mereor, or going back to in isto in the main clause.

16 p.28 18 tanto testimonio. Cf. 9 14 1 and 15 p.23 16. testimonium mihi perhibuit. For 'testimonium perhibere' ('bear witness'), cf. Pliny Epist. X 86b apud me et milites et pagani ... certatim ei qua priuatim qua publice testimonium perhibeunt; Pliny N.H. VII 127 Phidiae Iuppiter Olympius cotidie testimonium perhibet. splendidissimum ... benignissimum. Van der Vliet's correction of the MSS is necessary for the sense. laudator mihi apud principes Africae uiros quodam modo astitit. In legal terminology, a 'laudator' is a character-witness; cf. Cic. Verr. II 5 57, Balb. 41. For 'astare' = 'support', cf. Plaut. Cas. 567 dum asto aduocatus quoidam cognato meo; quodam modo, because this was not a court of law, and Apuleius was not actually present, nor, possibly, was Aemilianus Strabo. apud principes Africae uiros. Here, apparently, with reference to the Carthaginian council; cf. p.23 17 above, and see introductory note.

16 p.28 24 ut comperior. See note under 9 12 14 'id quoque pallium comperior ...'. nudus tertius libello misso. 'nudus tertius' = 'two days ago'; 'libellus' is here a letter or written request. p.29 1 per quem postulabat locum celeberrimae statuae meae. On the question whether Apuleius' statue was actually decreed before Aemilianus made his request, see introductory note. It appears from 14 below that Aemilianus not only asked for a site for the statue but also offered to pay for it,

thus turning what should have been a public benefaction into a private gift. For the award of statues as a mark of esteem by private individuals of high rank, see L. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms III p.77; for the practice of decreeing a public site for privately donated statues, see note on 'tam libenter decreuerunt locum statuere' at p.29 24 below. It was, however, not unknown for a publicly decreed statue to be paid for by a private person; see introductory note.

16 p.29 2 a commilitio studiorum. 'commilitium' outside a military context is extremely rare; cf. Ovid Pont. II V 72 et commilitii sacra tuenda putas. Cf. 'commilito' = 'comrade' at Petron. Sat. 80 (fin.). The genitive studiorum is used either on the analogy of the objective genitive with 'societas', or as a defining genitive. eisdem magistris: 'under the same teachers' (abl.). This is probably a reference to Apuleius' early education at Carthage (cf. 18 p.35 15 f.), since there is nothing to suggest that Aemilianus studied at Athens.

16 p.29 3 tunc postea. For this and similar pleonasms, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.525. uota omnia mea. See Helm's app. cit. and note on 'uotis omnium futurus proconsul' at p.29 19 below. recognouit: 'recalled'; cf. the speaker's phrase 'recognosce mecum' ('let me remind you') at Cicero Cat. I 8, etc. p.29 6 quod tantus diligere se ex pari praedicat. tantus is in place of a concessive clause ('although he is so great'), and contrasts with ex pari ('on equal terms'); cf. Sen. Epist. 59 14 cum diis ex pari uiuit. Geisau Indogermanische Forschungen XXXVI 1916 p.75 considers the phrase to be a Graecism (ἐξ ἴσου).

16 p.29 8 alibi gentium et ciuitatium. Cf. 'ubique gentium semper annorum' at p.30 21 below. honores mihi statuarum et alios decretos. For the defining genitive statuarum cf. 'honores ... uerborum' at Cic. Att. V 21 7. St. Augustine mentions a statue at Oea: Epist. 138 19 qui (sc. Apuleius) ... pro statua sibi apud Oeenses locanda ... aduersus contradictionem quorundam ciuium litigaret. quod posteros ne lateret, eiusdem litis orationem scriptam memoriae commendauit. A plaque forming the base of a statue, inscribed to Apuleius, has been found at his birthplace Madaura (Gsell, Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie I 2115). A statue to Apuleius at Byzantium is mentioned in the Anthologia Palatina II 303 (descriptio statuarum). According to L. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms III p.73, the award of statues to sophists by towns other than their birthplace was a feature of the second century. Apuleius also mentions an offer of citizenship made to him by popular acclaim after a speech at Apol. 73. His position as a member of the curia at Madaura was, it seems, inherited (Apol. 24; cf. J. Marquadt, Römische Staatsverwaltung I 3rd ed. p.191 f.)

16 p.29 10 sacerdotii suscepti. St. Augustine Epist. 138 19 refers to Apuleius' priesthood as that of sacerdos prouinciae, which would suggest that he was, or was about to become, a priest of the Imperial Cult (established in Africa about A.D. 71); this was a yearly office which involved the chairmanship of the concilium Africae (cf. 18 p.35 14), and also certain public obligations which Augustine refers to as 'ut munera ederet uenatoresque uestiret'; cf. A. Audollent, Carthage romaine p.417 ff. In Fl. 13, however, Apuleius speaks of himself as a priest of Aesculapius (p.38 18 sum enim non ignotus illi sacricola nec recens cultor

nec ingratus antistes), and it seems much more likely that this is the priesthood referred to here; cf. E. Haight, Apuleius and his Influence p.35. The importance of Aesculapian religion at Carthage might well justify the description of this priesthood as 'summum ... honorem Carthaginis'. adesse: possibly in the sense of providing additional support for the award of a statue at Carthage.

16 p.29 11 hoc praecipuum beneficium ac longe ante ceteros excellens. Rohde (Rhein. Mus. XL p.110 ff.) supplies honos before excellens; Purser (Hermathena XIV p.411) transposes longe ante ceteros to precede locupletissimus in the next clause. Helm (see app. crit.) appears to interpret excellens here as transitive, i.e. as = extollens (which Oudendorp records as a reading proposed by Pithoeus). This transitive use is supported only by the grammarians (Fest. p.274 31, Paul. ex Fest. p.275 11), and is possibly a false inference from the past participle excelsus. There is, however, no problem if the expression ante ceteros excellens is taken as an abridged comparison (for 'ante ceterorum beneficia'); see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.826, and cf. Caesar B.C. II 39 3 'uidetisne,' inquit, 'milites, captiuorum orationem cum perfugis comuenire?'

16 p.29 13 locupletissimus testis. Cf. Cic. Off. III 10 accedit eodem testis locuples Posidonius. Fl. 18 p.31 11 tute ipse locupletissimus testis es. quo etiam suffragio. For 'suffragium' in the sense of 'favourable opinion', 'support', cf. Pliny Epist. X 86a Gaium Bassum ... uoto pariter et suffragio prosequor; ibid. II 1 8 candidatum me suffragio ornauit (see Sherwin-White's note ad loc., Commentary pp.144-5).

16 p.29 14 ad summam. The phrase here means 'finally', 'above all', rather than 'in short'; cf. Cic. Fam. XIV 14 2 his de rebus uelim cum Pomponio, cum Camillo ... consideretis, ad summam animo forti sitis. de suo. On the implications of Aemilianus' offer to pay for the statue, see introductory note.

16 p.29 15 quadriuges et seiuges currus. These would be statues of Aemilianus Strabo riding in four-horse and six-horse chariots, obviously a much grander affair than Apuleius' statue. ponere gratulantur. 'gratulari' with infinitive in the sense 'be glad to' seems to be first found in Apuleius; cf. Cassiodorus Var. III 40 2 non gratulamur exigere quod tristis noscitur solutor offerre; Thes. Ling. Lat. VI 2 p.2258 5 ff. omnes prouinciae ... ubique gentium. In antithesis to Carthagini above; Apuleius' flattery seems to be based on the mere fact of Aemilianus' consulship.

16 p.29 19 tribunal ... column ... cumulum. All three words, used metaphorically, mean much the same: 'elevation', 'summit', 'perfection'. This appears to be the only instance of tribunal in a figurative sense (Koziol p.8 f.). column (= culmen, Ernout-Maillet p.134) is, like culmen, used figuratively in the sense of 'summit', and also in the sense of 'support' which it derives from association with columna. column is the form used by Plautus, so that Apuleius may be archaising here; cf. Plaut. Amph. 367 aduenisti, audaciai column. For cumulus, 'crowning addition', cf. Suet. Tib. 17 cui gloriae amplior adhuc ... cumulus accessit. Here, with the genitive laudis meae, the meaning seems to be rather that of a verbal noun, 'completion', 'perfection'.

16 p.29 18 immo enimvero, quid superest? For 'immo enimvero' (corrective-intensive), cf. p.27 12 above, and see note on 'immo enimvero' at 2 p.2 4. The repetition of quid superest here seems strange. An anonymous marginal correction in a copy of Colvius' edition gives quid non superest; see Oudendorp ad loc. and cf. Apcl. 100 inimicissimum filium scripsit heredem, immo enimvero non filium ... sed temulentum illud collegium. The second superest could thus be understood in the sense of 'abundare'; cf. P. Thomas (Rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belgique LIII 1910 pp.146-7) who translates the two questions "que manque-t-il a ...?" and "qu'est-ce qui ne surabonde pas?" Without the addition of non, Koziol considers that 'immo enimvero' is being used in the sense of 'inquam' ('I repeat'), but this seems very weak. It is more likely that the second quid superest is being used in the same sense as the first (= 'quid restat'), but in a more general way, with reference to what follows, indicating that the matter is already a foregone conclusion. It thus provides a transition to the next sentence, in which it is stated that the rest of the council naturally follow Aemilianus' lead. For this absolute use of 'quid superest', cf. the transitional phrase 'quod superest', which is especially common in Lucretius (e.g. III 350, IV 595, V 91, 261, 772, 1241, VI 219, 424, 906); cf. Cic. Att. IX 19 4; Virg. Georg. II 346, IV 51.

16 p.29 19 breui uotis omnium futurus proconsul. Butler and Owen, Apologia, Introduction p.xvii suggest that Aemilianus Strabo was already proconsul designate, but there is no evidence to support this, or to confirm that he ever was in fact proconsul. A future proconsulship could normally be inferred from the consulship, and Apuleius is probably

using breui somewhat freely, cf. 'cito reuersurus' at 9 p.15 18, and note ad loc. Vallette, Introduction p.xxvii, points out that if Aemilianus was consul suffect in 156, he could not have been proconsul much before 169, i.e. some five years after the probable date of Fl. 16 (see my Introduction p.22 f.). uotis omnium. For 'uota' in this sense, cf. 'omnia uota mea' at p.29 4 above; Ovid Pont. II 5 76 populi uota; Pliny Epist. X 86a uoto pariter et suffragio prosecuror. An old reading uoce cited by Pyrrhus appears to assume that the office of proconsul was open to popular election.

16 p.29 20 sententiam de honoribus meis in curia Karthaginensium dixit.

It is not clear whether Aemilianus Strabo was present in person at the meeting of the curia at which his letter was read, or whether Apuleius is still referring to the opinion expressed in the letter. If, as Stewechius suggested, the decision was reached by general acclaim (cf. 'honestissimis adclamationibus' p.30 5-6), it is in any case unlikely that 'sententiam dixit' refers to a formal vote on the matter of the statue. This would give point to the next sentence 'nonne uidetur hoc uobis senatus consultum esse?' -- which seems to indicate that the decision with which Apuleius is chiefly concerned is not, strictly speaking, a 'senatus consultum' at all. Norden, Apuleius von Madaura und das römische Privatrecht pp.64-5 considers that a parallel is being drawn with Roman senatorial procedure with a view to flattering the local community. It is more probable, however, that Apuleius is deliberately using the technical terms for what he considers to be the implications of Aemilianus' opinion and the council's decision, as opposed to the actual decree passed, which, as he goes on to point out, falls somewhat

short of what was clearly the intention of all concerned. de honoribus meis. There seems to be no special reason for the plural, unless Apuleius is already hinting that more than one statue is in question. in curia Karthaginiensium. At this period, the name curia was used for the local councils of the African towns, and for the ordo decurionum which composed them; RE IV 2 1821 s.v. curia 3 III, and 2345 s.v. decurio. Cf. Isid. orig. IX 4 23 decuriones dicti, quod sint de ordine curiae. officium enim curiae administrant. Apul. Apol. 24 participare curiam coepi.

16 p.29 22 senatus consultum. Cf. Cic. Balb. 41 grauissima autem in istum ciuem suum Gaditani senatus consulta fecerunt. The terms 'senatus', 'senator' were apparently less common later (RE IV 2 2322 and 2345).

16 p.29 22 quid quod et ... tam libenter decreuerunt locum statuere. For the form of the question, cf. 3 p.5 1-3. The provision of a public site for a privately donated statue may be illustrated from inscriptions, e.g. Gsell, Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie I 3068 LOCUS DATUS EX DECRETO ORDINIS. The formula was often abbreviated to L.D.D.D. (locus datus decreto decurionum), e.g. ibid. 7 and 3007; cf. CIL VIII 24, where a privately dedicated arch is recorded as erected loco publico. statuere is the reading of F; Colvius' statuae seems to go better with alteram statuan in the next clause, and is preferred by a number of scholars, including Oudendorp, Purser and Vallette.

16 p.29 25 alteram statuan. This is the first we have heard of 'the other statue', which in Apuleius' opinion the Carthaginian public still owes him. At the outset we were led to understand that this was a speech

of thanks for a statue decreed in his absence, in response to an earlier popular demand (p.23 17-19), and the professions of thanks made from p.26 25 onwards all appear to refer to a statue thus publicly decreed (cf. p.27 16 ob decretam sibi publice statuum). It has gradually emerged, however, that what has in fact been voted is not the statue itself, but only the site for it. Apuleius now seems to be arguing that Aemilianus' favourable opinion of him has been so heartily endorsed by everyone that the decision to decree a site for statue No. 1 (for which Aemilianus will pay) is tantamount to a decision that Apuleius ought to have the statue that was previously asked for, i.e. statue No. 2 (for which the Carthaginian public will pay). He is therefore in the somewhat tricky position of having to represent both that the decision has already been taken ('nonne uidetur hoc uobis senatus consultum esse?'), and that it has not in fact been taken, but (as he hopes) merely postponed to the following meeting of the council, in order not to trespass on the benefaction of Aemilianus Strabo.

16 p.29 25 quantum spero. Van der Vliet reads comperio, in the belief that the second statue has already been voted to Apuleius (see note on 'libro isto ad hunc honorem mihi conscripto' under 'nunc impraesentiarum' at p.27 13), but this is not in keeping with the rest of the speech (p.30 11 ff.). Cf. Bosscha's comment in the Valpy edition of Oudendorp: (alteram statuum) publicis Carthaginiensium sumptibus locandam, ut hac oratione callide poscit, cum se confidere ait eam proxima curia sibi decretum iri.

16 p.29 25 in sequentem curiam: i.e. to the following meeting of the council, which has not yet taken place. Purser (Herrathena XIV p.411)

notes that this meaning of curia is unparalleled; it is, however, a very natural one. integro die. Cf. p.27 2 ut integrum et intemeratum esset uestrum beneficium. Brantius emends to de integro and Lipsius to integrum dein. The phrase 'integro die' means 'early in the morning' at Hor. Carm. IV 5 38 f., but here seems to mean a day on which no other public business had been done.

16 p.29 30 ceterum meminerant ... mandatum sibi a uobis quod uolebant. Probably a reminder that the statue had been, in the first place, publicly asked for (p.23 18) rather than another reference to the scene in the curia. (ceterum thus = 'moreover' rather than 'but'). magistratus et ... principes. 'principes' in this context are distinguished members of the ordo (possibly ex-magistrates) rather than the ordo as a whole; cf. p.30 9 below, where 'populus', 'ordo', 'magistratus et principes' are placed in a sort of ascending scale. a uobis. It is not entirely clear to whom uobis refers, but it seems likely that the general public is meant, rather than the rank and file of the council. There is, however, an implied contrast between 'magistratus et principes' and 'uniuerso ordini uestro' (p.30 3); see note under 'ingratus essem' at p.30 3 below.

16 p.30 2 id egone scirem ac (non) praedicarem. The MSS have id ego nescirem ac praedicarem, which Oudendorp interprets as 'could I fail to know-and-declare this', i.e. carrying through the negative sense of nescirem to praedicarem. Van der Vliet's egone scirem, with one of the various suggested negatives before praedicarem (see Helm app. crit.), gives a clearer sense. F. Walter (Philol. Wochenschrift 1921 p.23) suggests praedicare cessarem, which has been accepted by Vallette.

16 p.30 3 incratus essem. Apuleius claims that, since he knew the intention of the council, it would have been ingratitude not to declare it, especially in view of the honour paid him at the previous meeting. uniuerso ordini uestro. Here Apuleius might be supposed to be addressing the council members; on the other hand, the fact that the third person is used in the relative clause 'qui ... decorauere' tends to show that 'uestro' is used more generally, for 'Carthaginian'; cf. 18 p.35 14 in concilio Africae, id est uestro.

16 p.30 3 (pro) amplissimis erga me meritis. Later MSS insert pro, but the ablative alone is found at Cic. Phil. III 25 meritoque uestro maximas uobis gratias omnes agere et habere debemus. honestissimis adclamationibus. See note on 'sententiam ... dixit' at p.29 20 above. in oua curia. For the repetition of the noun in the relative clause, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.563. More commonly Apuleius repeats the noun with a demonstrative, e.g. 11 p.16 17 flores ... ut eos flores; 15 p.19 20 fanum ... id fanum; 20 p.42 7-10 equum ... cum eo equo. uel nominari tantummodo summus honor est. Cf. p.28 21 cui etiam notum esse tantummodo summus honor est.

16 p.30 7 quod difficile factu erat quodque re uera arduum, non existimabatur. Krüger's punctuation, with or without his addition of erat after arduum, makes existimabatur a main verb: 'what was difficult to do and what was really hard, was not thought to be so.' But the sense of this is not very clear, and one would expect Apuleius to be saying just the opposite — that what seemed to be the difficult part is now done and only the easy part remains. This meaning is most simply

obtained by Novak's omission of non, or by the vulgate reading nobis: 'what was thought to be really hard, namely to win the favour of the people, etc., has already somehow or other fallen to my lot'. Hildebrand proposed omino for non; for other suggested readings giving a similar sense, see Helm's app. crit. For praefascine dixerim ('without vanity be it spoken') cf. Plaut. Asin. 491 praefascini hoc nunc dixerim: nemo etiam me accusavit / merito meo.

16 p.30 11 quid igitur superest. Cf. p.29 17-18 above. Again Apuleius is arguing that, since the general principle has been decided, all that now remains is to carry out the universal wish, by commissioning the statue. statuae meae honorem. Cf. 'honores mihi statuarum' at p.29 8 above.

16 p.30 13 ne ut Karthagini desint. If ne ut is the correct reading, Apuleius is using ne ut in the sense of nedum ut. Cf. Metam. IX 39 iners asellus ... uix etiam paucos holerum manipulos ... solet ... subuehere, nedum ut rebus amplioribus idoneus uideatur gerulus; Livy III 14 6 ne uoce quidem incommoda, nedum ut ulla uis fieret ... mansuefecerunt plebem; ibid. XXX 21 9; Tac. Dial. 10; Sen. Dial. II 8 3, X 7 4; Apul. Metam. V 10. Stewechius proposed nedum here, but most editors (including Oudendorp, van der Vliet, Helm and Vallette) retain ne, which is defended by Nettleship, J.P. XX p.177 ff. For ne alone in the sense of nedum, cf. Cic. Fam. IX 26 2 me uero nihil istorum ne inuenem quidem mouit umquam, ne nunc senem; Apul. Apol. 39 nec tamen ab eruditis reprehenditur (sc. Ennius), ne ego reprehendar ('far less should I be blamed'). For other examples see Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.68. ne ut appears to be used for nedum at Plaut. Ces. 1002 si

umquam posthac aut amasso Casinam aut ocepso modo, / ne ut eam amasso.
 F. Buecheler, Kleine Schriften II (Osnabruck) p.351 f. would also read
ne ut (with Mercer) for neue at De deo Socr. 5 (p.13 5 Thomas)
 utrumque idoneum non est, propter quod ^{adiures} ~~audares~~, neue per ista iuretur.
 He also reads ne ut iusta utamur ira at Plaut. Truc. 192 (see Lindsay
 O.C.T. app. crit.).

16 p.30 15 iudicare notius quam computare. According to Apuleius'
 argument, the 'judgement' has already been passed, although it has not
 been put into effect by an actual decree voting the money and commission-
 ing the work; hence his next remark, 'sed de hoc tum ego perfectius,
 cum uos effectius'.

16 p.30 15 tum ego perfectius, cum uos effectius (sc. agam, egeritis).
 Apuleius hints that further praise, and no doubt the book of thanks
 referred to at p.27 16, will be forthcoming only when the second statue
 has been decreed. perfectius. The comparative of the adverb is first
 found in Apuleius (Kretschmann p.61); Gellius has the superlative
 'perfectissime' at XI 16 9. effectius. See note under 'idque facere
 adortus sum' at 9 14 14, and cf. 15 20 7.

16 p.30 16 quin etiam tibi, nobilitas senatorum, claritudo ciuium,
dignitas amicorum. I can find no parallel to this highly unusual mode
 of address, in which the abstract nouns are virtually equivalent to
 superlatives with partitive genitives. Honorific phrases such as
 'decus patriae', 'ornamentum populi' (Cic. Flacc. 75), 'splendor ordinis,
 decus atque ornamentum iudiciorum' (Cic. Caec. 28) afford no real
 precedent. The habit of using abstracts to address persons goes back

to Plautus, e.g. 'mea festiuitas' (Cas. 577), 'mea amoenitas' (Cas. 229), cf. odium, scelus. Cicero has 'honestates ciuium' at Sest. 109, but genitives with abstracts are not normally partitive: e.g. 'elephantorum feritas' (Sen. Ben. I 2 5) means simply 'wild elephants', not 'wildest of elephants'. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.152.

16 p.30 18 ad dedicationem statuæ meæ. This must refer to the first statue, the site for which has already been decreed. Apuleius promises further thanks to Aemilianus Strabo on the occasion of its dedication. libro etiam conscripto. Cf. p.27 14 libro isto ... conscripto. It is now made quite clear that the book in question is the one 'quem Strabonis Aemiliani excellentissimus honor flagitat'. The book 'ob decretam ... publice statuam' is, one hopes, to follow.

16 p.30 19 canam eique. F has canacique, which Leo (Thes. Ling. Lat. III p.226) accepts, supposing canaci to come from an adjective canax, which is not attested elsewhere; capacique, Rossbach. φ has canam cique, which Oudendorp emends to canam eique. Krüger and Novak prefer agam, presumably on the ground that canam would suggest a work in verse; cf. 17 33 11-12 (Schanz-Hosius p.117 interpret as a laudatory poem); 18 p.38 16 hymnum ... canam. Braßman (inemosyne XXXVI 1908 p.37) points out that 'canam' at 20 p.41 5 includes prose compositions, and suggests talique for eique. In support of eique, see Helm Philologus Suppl. IX p.578 and P. Thomas in Bull. de l'acad. roy. de Belgique 1902 pp.297-8.

16 p.30 19 eique libro mandabo. For the idea of issuing instructions to a book, cf. Ovid Trist. I 35, 119, 123; Martial X 104 8, etc. totoque abhinc orbe totoque abhinc tempore. The use of abhinc in a

local sense is not attested elsewhere, except possibly Lucretius III 955
 aufer abhinc lacrimas (see Bailey's note ad loc.). abhinc of future
 time is likewise extremely rare; cf. Pacuvius (Ribbeck² 21) seque ad
 ludos iam inde abninc exerceant; Symmachus Epist. 4 59 proxima abhinc
 aetate mittemus. See Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p. 285; H. Floen, ALL IV p.113.
 According to Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p. 137 the use of abhinc with
 the ablative was not established before Fronto and Gellius.

16 p.30 21 ubique gentium semper annorum. Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p. 434-5;
 Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II pp. 47 and 53.

FLORIDA 17

Fl. 17, delivered in the presence of Scipio Orfitus, proconsul A.D. 163/4, is part of the introduction to what may have been a laudatory poem, 'de uirtutibus Orfiti carmen', p.32 12; see Schanz-Hosius III p.117. The main theme is the human voice, which Apuleius compares to a number of musical instruments and animal cries; though inferior in mere sound quality, the voice has greater usefulness to the mind. It is best employed, therefore, not, like the music of Orpheus and Arion and the songs of birds, in remote and waste places, but among large numbers of one's fellow men to the general advantage of all. Apuleius thus forges a link between his own function as a speaker and the virtues of the proconsul, who is being praised for some act (or acts) of social service benefitting the whole community. The passage is remarkable both for its elaborate and intricate composition and for its strong poetical quality. It has, moreover, a marked independence of tone, as if Apuleius were now very sure of his own talents and their value to the community.

17 p.30 23 uiderint. A phrase for disclaiming responsibility: 'let them see to it', 'that is their affair'. The sense seems to be incomplete; hence Helm marks a lacuna before the opening words of this passage. Cf. Virgil Aen. X 743-4 ast de me diuum pater atque hominum rex / uiderit.

17 p.30 23 oggerere se. The verb is Plautine, but used here only with a personal object: 'thrust themselves upon'. Cf. Plaut. Truc. 102 osculum amicae usque oggerit; Pseud. 812 boues qui conuiuas faciunt herbasque oggerunt (sc. alii coqui); Cist. 70 amarum ad satietatem usque oggerit (sc. amor).

17 p.30 23 et (neg)otiosis. Helm now wishes to retain the MSS reading et otiosis (addenda p.51). negotiosis (or nec otiosis) was suggested by Stewechius; van der Vliet proposed et otiosis (et negotiosis), citing Metam. II 19 libertas otioso (otiosa MSS) et negotioso. Sriverius deleted et, and Lipsius proposed semet. But the MSS reading makes good sense, if 'otiosis' is taken to mean 'off-duty', i.e. when such intrusions would be especially irksome.

17 p.30 24 impatientia linguae. Scioppius proposed impotentia, Stewechius impudentia. 'impatientia' with objective genitive has the sense of 'inability to restrain' at Metam. X 3 impatientia furoris altius agitata diutinum rupit silentium. Since an expression such as 'impatiens irae' has virtually the same meaning as 'impotens irae', it may be supposed that 'impatientia' came to be used more generally as a synonym for 'impotentia'. Hence Vallette translates: 'par l'intemperance de leur langue'; Butler: 'by the exuberance of their speech.'

17 p.31 2 enim. The MSS reading eius is retained by Vallette, though it is difficult to see what it could refer to. Scipio Orfite. Servius Cornelius Salvidienus Scipio Orfitus was 'consul ordinarius' in A.D. 149 (J. Klein, Festi Consulares p.71) and proconsul of Africa in 163/4 (Syme, PEA LXI 1959 pp.318-9; Groag and Stein, PIR II 1447). His name and that of his legate, Uttedius Marcellus, appear in two inscriptions: the one, on an arch at Tripoli, dedicated by him to the two emperors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, CIL VIII 24 (see A. C. Pallu de Lessert, Fastes des Provinces Africaines I pp.208-9); the other, also found at Tripoli, CIL VIII suppl. I 10999.

17 p.31 3 quantulumcunque. For the indefinite relative pronoun, adjective or adverb without verb in Apuleius, see Kretschmann p.96.
pro captu suo: cf. 'pro meo captu' at 9 p.11 17. Both are expressions of modesty. For the thought that Apuleius' reputation is of long standing, cf. 'non hercle penuria laudis, etc.' at 9 p.14 2 ff.

17 p.31 5 tuoruncue similiu. The possessive adjective is used in place of the genitive or dative of the pronoun, perhaps on the analogy of 'par' and 'aequalis'. There seems to be no other example of its use with 'similis'. malo quam iacto. For 'quam' in the sense of 'potius quam', cf. 16 p.27 6 emere uelis quam rogare. The meaning appears to be 'malo habere quam iactare'.

17 p.31 6 cupitor quam gloriator. ^{apart from a late fourth century instance} 'glorior' is found here only, coined to balance cupitor, which is attested in Tacitus (Ann. XII 7, XV 42) and Martianus Capella VI 589 Iuppiter ... uersigormis cupitor. Apuleius uses the word only in a good sense; cf. Metam. VII 11 hem oblita es nuptiarum tuique mutui cupitoris; Plat. II 22 putandum est eum qui sit gnarus bonorum, cupitorem quoque eiusmodi rerum esse.

17 p.31 7 cupere nemo ^{nisi} uere ~~putem~~ potest. I.e. desire is unfeigned, whereas boasting may be false. Neither putem, the reading of F and φ, nor putet, the vulgate reading, makes acceptable sense, and Contaremus is clearly right in deleting putem, although the error seems due to confusion rather than dittography. For the repetition of potest, van der Vliet compares Apol. 1 quippe insimulari quiuis innocens potest, reuinci nisi nocens non potest.

17 p.31 9 bonas artes. The phrase can refer to character (as at Sallust Cat. 10 4 fidem probitatem ceterasque artis bonas), or to subjects studied

(as at Cicero De Or. I 156 omnium bonarum artium doctores atque scriptores). Here the two meanings are combined, as is shown by 'eamque existimationem morum ac studiorum' in the next part of the sentence.

17 p.31 11 Romae penes amicos tuos. Apuleius does not actually claim to have known the proconsul personally at Rome, and the plurals vobis and uestra (12-13) seem deliberately chosen. Apart from this vague statement, Apuleius gives no real indication of having had any success as a literary man when in Rome. For the general assumption that he practised law there, and the alternative supposition that he was a grammaticus or rhetor, see Introduction p.32.

17 p.31 12 amicitia mea capessenda. Apuleius at first gives the impression of being on terms of social equality with Scipio Orfitus and his friends, but the following sentence more clearly describes the relationship of patron and client.

17 p.31 14 rarenter adeundi. See note on 'rarenter' at 9 p.11 12 above. As Helm points out in his app. crit., the meaning of 'ueniam impertire' in the text as it stands is 'allow' rather than 'forgive', which seems somewhat strained. Becichemus' adeundi improves the sense and fits in well with the other participles in the sentence. It provides, moreover, a point of reference for eius, which is otherwise left rather in the air.

17 p.31 15 obirasci. ^{Cf 'obirasci' at Sen. De Ira III 40 1} ~~Apart from this instance~~ and 'obirascantur' at Arat. 3 p.4 14, the verb is attested only as a participle (Livy and Seneca). p.31 17 (gratam praesentiam). Colvius' admirable conjecture both completes the series of antitheses and clarifies the sense.

Oudendorp understands 'amorem' from 'amoris' in line 15, but this seems very harsh, especially since eiusdem would have to be taken as an objective genitive; moreover, 'cuius angat absentia' tells only half the story.

17 p.31 18 ceterum uox cohibita silentio perpeti. The contrast is with 'impatientia linguae' at p.30 24 above; thus ceterum is adversative rather than transitional (Helm, Wien. Stud. LXX 1957 p. 140-41).

silentio perpeti. According to Festus p.217 (Müller), 'perpes' is a poetical variant of 'perpetuus'; he quotes Pacuvius (Ribbeck² 208) fac ut coepisti hanc operam mihi des perpetem. In Plautus, it invariably qualifies 'nox', e.g. Amph. 783, Truc. 277. Apuleius uses it with 'nox' (as at Metam. II 22, III 3, XI 11), but also with other nouns, e.g. De deo Socr. 1 perpeti candore (of the moon); Apol. 73 anno perpeti.

17 p.31 19 usu erit. F has usu *erit, ϕ usu iuerit. Oudendorp's reading, uox cohibita silentii perpeti usu non magis iuuerit, gives an odd sense and involves major departures from the MSS. However, it might be feasible to adopt the reading of ϕ usu iuerit ('will have benefited in use'), the older spelling with a single u being well attested epigraphically; see Sommer's Handbuch p.164, Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I p. 116, and cf. Catullus 66 18.

17 p.31 20 grauedine. Here used of a head-cold, cf. Catullus 44 13, Celsus IV 5 2, etc. At Metam. X 11 and 26 it is used of the effects of a soporific drug or poison; cf. Pliny N.H. XX 136 crapulae grauedines.

17 p.31 20 aures spurcitie obseratae. The MSS have spiritu. Van der Vliet, Helm and Vallette read spurcitie, proposed by Desertine (Mnemosyne

XXVII 1899 p.72), who refers to letam. VIII 28 spurcitie (spurcitia, Helm) sanguinis effeminati madescere. Purser (Hermathena XVI pp.155-6) suggests prurigne, citing Martial XIV 23, or pruritu, which would be nearer to the MSS reading. In favour of Purser's conjecture is the fact that grauedine and albugine both refer to ailments of the organs in question, whereas spurcitie does not suggest an ailment; on the other hand, it is not clear that 'prurigo' or 'pruritus' would cause deafness. In defence of the MSS reading spiritu, I would like to point out that, according to Galen, the head-noises which can cause deafness are attributable to wind (πνεῦμα φυσῶδες): Galen XII p.642 (Kühn), XV p.599, X p.867; cf. Celsus VI 7 8 aliud uitii genus est, ubi aures intra se ipsas sonant. atque hoc quoque fit, ne externum sonum accipiant. It seems possible, therefore, that spiritu, though not the name of any specific disease, might refer to this form of deafness.

17 p.31 21 albugine. Used of cataract also by Pliny N.H. XXIV 19 oculorum albugine; XXIX 117 albuginem pupillarum.

17 p.31 21 quid si ... quid si. For the repetition, cf. Apol. 27 p.32 16-17; Cicero De Or. II 304-5; Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.499.

coartentur. Against Brantius' coarceantur is letam. IX 9 manicis etiam cunctos coartant.

17 p.31 22 iam rector nostri animus. iam ('furthermore') here replaces a third 'quid si'. 'iam' is not infrequently used in a transitional sense; see, in addition to references given by Helm, ann. crit. and Introduction p.XXIV, Cicero N.D. II 141, Inv. II 68. The insertions of Krüger, quid si etiam, and van der Vliet, uel etiam, are probably unnecessary. rector nostri. So of the head in relation to the other bodily parts at Plat. I 13 uectare etiam sublime positum ut dominum atque rectorem.

17 p.31 24 usu splendescit. Cf. Horace Carm. XI 2 1 ff. mullus argento color est ... nisi temperato / ¹spendeat usu. Virgil G. I 46 sulco attritus splendere uomer. robiginat. Found here only (Koziol p.280). For the comparison, though applied somewhat differently, cf. Cato ap. Gell. XI 2 6 'nam uita', inquit, 'humana prope uti ferrum est. si exerceas, conteritur; si non exerceas, tamen robigo interficit.'

17 p.32 1 uox in uagina silentii condita ... hebetatur. Oudendorp compares the metaphor to Cicero Cat. I 4 at uero nos ... patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. habemus enim ... senatus consultum, uerum inclusum in tabulis, tamquam in uagina conditum. desuetudo ... pigritiam, pigritia ueterum parit. A brief 'ladder' structure; see note on 'nam ex innumeris hominibus ... pauci eruditi' at 8 p.9 23. For 'ueterus' ('inactivity') cf. Virgil G. I 124 nec torpere graui passus sua regna ueterno; Columella R.R. VII 5 3 (of sick sheep) ueterno consenescere atque extingui. Apuleius uses it of a bedridden condition at 1^a tam. X 9 morbi inextricabilis ueterno.

17 p.32 3 tragoedi adeo. Kretschmann p.99 suggests that 'adeo' is being used in the causal sense which it developed in later Latin (= 'ideo'); Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.220. Alternatively it may have the meaning 'in particular', 'at any rate' (Greek $\gamma\epsilon$), though this is more common with pronouns and similar words (Lewis & Short s.v. II B). ni cottidie proclament ... obsolescit. A 'mixed' condition, probably caused by the assimilation of the apodosis to the other general statements of fact ('hebetatur', 'parit'); alternatively, the subjunctive of the protasis may be frequentative (see Landford, The Latin Subjunctive, pp.177-8). For cleritudo instead of 'claritas' in the sense of voice quality, cf. Gell. VI 5 1 uocis claritudine. arteriis = 'windpipe', the so-called 'arteria aspera' (Cic. N.D. II 136);

the word is sometimes used, as here, in the plural, e.g. Pliny N.H. XXII 100; Auct. ad Herenn. III 21. (For the voice-practice of tragic actors and others, see Cicero De Or. I 251, with note on 'gravis ... acutus' under 'taurorum gravis mugitus' at 17 p.32 11 below).

17 p.32 4 boando purgant rauin. 'boare', 'boere', or 'bouare' (Greek βοᾶν, though popularly derived 'a boum mugitibus', Nonius p.79 5), seems to be more often used with non-personal subjects, of echoed noise or cries: e.g. Pacuvius (223 Ribbeck²) clamore et sonitu colles resonantes bount; Plautus Amph. 232-3 boat / caelum fremitu uirum; Ovid A.A. III 450 'redde meum' toto uoce boante foro; cf. Virgil's use of 'reboare' at G. III 223 reboant silvaeque et longus Olympus. That the word could, however, be applied to persons is shown by Varro L.L. VII 104 who quotes Ennius' 'clamore bouantes' as an example of an animal cry ('a boue') transferred to men; cf. Nonius loc. cit. who also cites 'bount' from Varro (Sat. Men. 386, Bücheler). Apuleius uses it (of Lucius the ass) at Metam. VII 3 identidem boau; of Venus at Metam. IV 29 quam maxime boans; cf. IX 20 dominum boantem. For rauim (hoarseness) cf. Plautus Aul. 336, Cist. 304. A loud voice was an essential qualification of the tragic actor; cf. 'tra_oedus uociferatur' at 18 p.34 8 below.

17 p.32 4 ceterum ipsius uocis exercendi cassus labor. For 'ceterum', again adversative, cf. p.31 18 and 16 p.29 26. 'ipsius' means either the voice without accompanying instrument, or, more probably, as opposed to the thoughts it expresses (so Helm, app. crit.). uocis ... exercendi ... labor. Contrary to Helm's app. crit., I find that Gudendorp writes exercendi in his text, with the following comment: "notandum etiam exercendi uocis pro exercendae uel uocem ut apud Terentium 'nouarum

spectandi' et alia." Apuleius' use of the construction is an archaism. Cf. Ennius Medea (248 Vahlen³) nauis incohendi exordium; Plautus Capt. 1008 lucis das tuendi copiam; Terence Hec. eius (fem.) uidendi cupidus. See especially A. Aalto, Untersuchungen über das lateinische Gerundium und Gerundivum, p.155 ff.; Kühner-Stegmann 2 I pp.744-5; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II pp.374-5; Löfstedt, Syntactica II p.162; cf. Lindsay on Plautus Captivi 1008.

17 p.32 5 superuacaneo studio. In spite of its position in the sentence, this phrase appears to go with exercendi rather than superatur. Helm, following Bosscha, attaches it pleonastically to cassus labor ('with its superfluous effort'), but the syntactical relation is not clear. His alternative of a full-stop after studio appears to wreck the sentence.

17 p.32 6 plurifarum superatur. Leky's frustratur gives marginally better sense. 'plurifarum' is used freely by Suetonius in the sense of 'in many places', e.g. Ner. 24 2 aurigauit quoque plurifarum; Calig. 54 1 aurigabat exstructo plurifarum circo; Aug. 46 and 80, Claud. 21. Apuleius uses it in this sense at Metam. VI 10 uestem plurifarum diloricat, and VIII 18 plurifarum uulnerati. For the meaning 'variously', 'in many ways', cf. Solinus 38 (Mommsen p.163) pro gentium ac linguarum uarietate plurifarum nominatus (sc. mons Taurus). For the derivation, see note on 'omnifarum' at 7 p.9 8 above.

17 p.32 7 rudore. 'rudor', coined from 'rudere' ('roar', 'bray'), is found only here and at De Iundo 18 taetri rudoris inquietudo terrena (of an earthquake). Cf. 'uirores' from 'uirescere' at 10 p.16 9 above. toruor. 'toruus' does not seem to be used elsewhere of sound.

17 p.32 7 uariatior. The past participle of 'uario', used here only as an adjective, provides a substitute for the missing comparative of 'uarius'. For Apuleius' use of past participles as comparatives, cf. Apol. 22 ipse inquam Hercules ... neque una pelli uestitior fuit neque uno baculo comitator. concentu ('harmony') refers to the variations made possible by the blending of several strings, as opposed to the single voice; cf. 3 p.4 2 concentum musicum miscuit.

17 p.32 8 questu delectabilior. For 'questus' of sweet plaintive sound, cf. the song of the nightingale at Virgil G. IV 515 maestis late loca questibus implet. The tibia is described as 'querula' at Horace Carm. III 7 30, where it accompanies a lover's serenade. See note on 'Lydium querulum' at 4 p.5 15. delectabilior is another Apuleian comparative; Koziol p.304.

17 p.32 8 susurru. Elsewhere the word is of the second declension, as at Metam. I 1 and VIII 10. The present form is found here only, presumably for sound effect and to match the other fourth declension endings.

17 p.32 8 bucina significatu longinquior. I.e. 'e longinquo significat'; the bugle can be heard from a greater distance (or more clearly at a distance) than the human voice. For 'longinquus' in what is virtually the sense of 'e longinquo', cf. Lucan III 569 nec longinqua cadunt iaculato uulnera ferro. significatu suggests the use of the bugle to sound signals, though the word has, of course, a more general meaning (= 'significatio'). Cf. De deo Socr. prol. 5 scio quid hoc significatu flagitetis (of an audience). The word is also used for astronomical indications of seasonal change, e.g. Vitruvius IX 6 3 siderum et occasus tempestatumque significatus; Pliny N.H. XVIII 221 and 310 uehementissimo

significatu; cf. Apul. Plat. I 14 eorumque (sc. siderum) cum significatibus spatia comprehendit. For Apuleius' predilection for verbal nouns in -tus, see note on 'repertu nouo commodum oriebatur' at 3 p.3 12.

17 p.32 9 multorum animalium. Becichemus and others have mutorum (which Oudendorp approves of but does not introduce into his text), in contrast with men who have articulate speech. Cf. Lucr. V 1087 f. ergo si uarii sensus animalia cogunt, / muta tamen cum sint, uarias emittere uoces, etc., and 'pecudes mutae', ib. 1059, Cic. Q.F. I 1 24. The suggestion is plausible, but multorum should probably be retained, since the contrast here is not with human speech as such, but with the voice quality produced by training, and multorum serves to introduce the idea that there are numerous animal species, each with characteristic sound ('distinctis proprietatibus'). immeditatos sonores. The adjective occurs twice in Apuleius and the adverb 'immeditate' is attested in Gellius. Again, the meaning is 'spontaneous' or 'unpractised', in contrast with the 'uocis ... exercendi cassus labor' referred to above. Cf. Metam. II 2 speciosus et immeditatus incessus ('unstudied', 'unaffected'); Gellius praef. 10 immeditate ac prope etiam subrustice ... Atticas noctes inscripsimus. 'sonor' (for 'sonus') is mainly poetical.

17 p.32 11 taurorum grauis mugitus. To the following list, cf. Suetonius fr. 161 (Reifferscheid p.247 ff.) leonum est fremere ... luporum ululare, boum mugire ... equorum hinnire ... elephantorum barrire ... merulorum frendere uel zinziare, etc. Cf. also Fl. 13 and Introduction p.41. grauis ... acutus ... tristis ... hilaris. The careful balance of the nouns in the first four phrases is varied by these two pairs of contrasted adjectives, each perhaps suggestive of some aspect of the human voice.

The antithesis between 'low' and 'high' is possibly reminiscent of the voice practice described by Cicero De Or. I 251 ab acutissimo sono usque ad grauissimum sonum (uocem) recipiunt et quasi quodam modo conligunt. Cf. Sen. Contr. I praef. 16; Sen. Ep. 15 7; Quint. XI 3 22. Similarly the contrast between 'tristis' and 'hilaris' might be intended to recall the studied voice changes of the trained human speaker; cf. Quint. XI 3 63 itaque laetis in rebus plena et simplex et ipsa quodammodo hilaris fluit (uox).

17 p.32 11 luporum acutus ululatus. 'acutus' ('high-pitched') is used of the whinny of a horse at Virgil G. III 94. Varro L.L. VII 104 gives 'ululare' as a term borrowed from the cry of the wolf; cf. Virgil G. I 486, Aen. VII 18; used also of dogs, Aen. VI 257, Ovid Met. XV 797. Cf. Ennius Ann. 342 (Vahlen³) uoce sua nictit ululatque ibi acute (of a chained hunting-dog).

17 p.32 12 elefantorum tristis barritus. 'barritus' (from 'barrire') appears first in Apuleius (Koziol p.267); cf. Isid. Orig. XII 2 14 (of the elephant) apud Indos autem a uoce barrus uocatur; inde et uox eius barritus. The idea that the trumpeting of elephants is 'sad' may be an inference from their use in war, but it seems more probable that Apuleius is drawing on his own experience. By contrast, perhaps, the whinnying of a horse has a cheerful sound, resembling the human laugh; such judgments are very subjective.

17 p.32 12 nec non ... nec non. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II pp.778-9; Kdhner-Stegmann 2 I p.826-7. Although this connective is fairly common in Augustan poetry and later prose, the repetition is unusual, and emphasises the studied balance of the two phrases.

17 p.32 13 auium instigati <cl>angores. Vossius retains MSS angores and changes auium to ouium, on the ground that all the creatures so far mentioned are four-footed beasts; however, the Suetonius fragment has birds on its list, and angores could hardly claim a place among distinctive animal sounds. Becichemus is clearly right in correcting to clangores, a word very commonly used of birds, either of the sound of their wings or, as here, of their cries; cf. Metam. VIII 33 *gallina ... clangore gemino personabat*. instigati ('excited') is probably a transferred epithet, like 'indignati' below.

17 p.32 13 leonum indignati fremores. 'indignati' ('angry' or 'expressing anger') here seems to be a transferred epithet, for which the dictionary gives no parallel. Ovid has 'uerba ... indignantia' in a similar sense at Metam. VI 584. ceteraeque id genus uoces. Cf. 'id genus crimina' at 3 p.5 7 above.

17 p.32 15 quas infeste rabies uel propitia uoluptas ciant. Cf. Lucretius V 1059 ff. *cum pecudes mutae, cum denique saecula ferarum / dissimiles soleant uoces variasque ciere / cum metus aut dolor est et cum iam gaudia gliscunt*. Virgil G. I 412 f. (*corui*) *nescio qua praeter solitum dulcedine laeti / inter se in foliis strepitant*. uoluptas clearly has a wider sense than 'mating', though it would presumably include this. propitia ('kindly') is in contrast with infesta and does not mean either 'propria' or 'prompta ad Venerem', as Cudendorp appears to suggest. ciant is generic subjunctive; the plural seems to be a grammatical slip, though a very natural one.

17 p.32 16 uox diuinitus data. For the divine gift of speech, cf. Eurip. Suppl. 201-4; Cic. N.D. II 148-9. The human voice, though 'feebler',

or 'narrower in range' ('angustior'), than that of the animals or musical instruments, is the vehicle of intelligence ('principium a mente ducens', Cic. loc. cit.), and so has 'greater usefulness for the mind than pleasure for the ear'. Compare the message of Fl. 2, that it is through speech and hearing rather than sight that the mind is able to judge and be judged.

17 p.32 18 celebrari/frequentius usurpata. The expression is pleonastic (so Koziol p.153), unless celebrari has some suggestion of the meaning 'rendered famous'; cf. 'celebritate' at line 20 below. Vallette in his app. crit. proposes frequenti usurpatu, a conjecture supported by Coulon (Revue de Philologie XLIX 1925 p.25), who argues that a corruption to frequentius could be explained as due to dittography of the first two letters of usurpatu, which would then be corrected to usurpata. Coulon feels that the combination of perfect participle and present infinitive here is wrong; no doubt on similar grounds Stewechius proposed usurpanti. usurpatus (for 'usurpatio') is unattested.

17 p.32 19 et quidem non nisi in auditorio. For 'et quidem', see note under 'et quidem non in uno genere studiorum' at 9 p.11 21. non nisi. Van der Vliet's non usquam libentius is attractive, but one would then have expected quam rather than nisi. (For the late Latin use of nisi for quam see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.596; the earliest author cited is Tertullian.) Apuleius' meaning here is 'et quidem in frequenti loco'; Helm rightly points to the repetition of non nisi at 21-22 below.

17 p.32 20 multorum eruditorum, multorum benignorum. Cf. Apuleius' description of his audience at 18 p.33 25 tan multos eruditionis amicos; 9 p.10 19 uestra de me benigna praesumptio.

17 p.32 21 si fidibus adprime callerem. An object accusative is normal with 'callere'; cf. 3 p.3 16, 9 p.13 11, 19 p.39 15, Apol. 25 p.30 2, etc. For the ablative, cf. Accius 475 (Ribbeck²) satin astu et fallendo callet? Justin XXIV 4 3 augurandi studio Galli praeter ceteros callent. For 'adprime', see note on 'in tibicinio adprime nobilis' at 4 p.5 17. consectarer. The literal sense is less common: cf. Ter. Eun. 249, Plaut. Mil. 1113.

17 p.32 22 cantilauit 'Orpheus in siluis, inter delphinas Arion'. Quoted from Virgil Ecl. VIII 5⁶, though the sense is changed: in Virgil's line the two names are predicates to a single subject ('sit Tityrus Orpheus ...'). delphinas: Greek accusative from 'delphin', the form in common use among the Augustan poets; elsewhere Apuleius has 'delphinus', e.g. Metam. VI 29 and Apol. 32. For 'cantilare', see note on 'canulat' at 3 p.5 4.

17 p.32 23 quippe ... Orpheus exilio desolatus. For 'quippe' with the participle, see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.791-2; cf. Horace Carm. I 31 13-14 quippe ... reuisens. 'exilium' here has the unusual meaning of a self-imposed isolation from his fellow men, i.e. the period of mourning which, according to Virgil G. IV 507 ff., followed his failure to rescue Eurydice:

septem illum totos perhibent ex ordine mensis
rupe sub aëria deserti ad Strymonis undam
flesse sibi, et gelidis haec euoluisse sub antris
mulcentem tigris et agentem carmine quercus.

For the story, cf. Ovid Metam. X 64 ff., and see W. K. C. Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek religion (Oxford, 2nd ed. 1952) pp.30 ff. For 'desolatus'

('left alone'), cf. Metam. II 25, X 23, Apol. 93, Tac. Ann. I 30; also used of bereavement, e.g. Tac. Ann. XVI 30, Statius Silv. II 1 233.

17 p.32 24 Arion nauigio praecipitatus. The famous story is first told by Herodotus I 23-4. Cf. Ovid Fast. II 95 ff., Gellius XVI 19, etc. For 'praecipitari' in a middle sense, cf. Sallust Jug. 58 6 cum alii super uallum praecipitarentur; Ovid Fast. IV 164. nauigio: for the ablative, cf. Caesar B.C. II 11 1 praecipitata muro; Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.363.

17 p.33 1 immanium bestiarum delenitor. Orpheus' power of charming wild animals is often mentioned; see especially Kern, Orphicorum fragmenta, nos. 93, 111, 112, 118, 144. The earliest reference seems to be Simonides fr. 62 (Page, Poetae Melici Graeci p.293), where he is described as attracting birds and fishes. Virgil G. IV 510 mentions tigers; Horace A.P. 393 lions and tigers; Ovid Metam. XI 21 adds snakes. 'delenitor' is also attested at Cic. Brut. 246.

17 p.33 1 miseriçordium beluarum oblectator. 'oblectator' is coined by Apuleius to balance 'delenitor'; cf. 'modifier' at 4 p.5 14, coined to match 'modulator'. The 'miseriçordes beluae' are, of course, the dolphins; Herodotus and most later versions (including Apuleius himself at Metam. VI 29) mention only one dolphin, but Pliny N.H. IX 28 speaks of a number of dolphins attracted by the music, one of which carried Arion: congregatis cantu delphinis, cum se iecisset in mare exceptum ab uno Taenarum in litus peruectum. In Plutarch's more elaborate version (Sept. Sap. Conv. 18, Mor. 160 f.), Arion is supported by several dolphins, sharing the work in turn. Ovid Fast. II 85 ff. claims that Arion could also tame other animals, including wolves and lions, but this is a trait

more properly associated with Orpheus. For the natural friendliness of dolphins and their taste for music, see Pliny N.H. IX 24 ff. See also Sherwin-White's note on Pliny Ep. IX 33 l 'quid poetae cum fide?' (The Letters of Pliny, p.514).

17 p.32³/₅ ambo miserrimi cantores. The plural is in apposition to the two singular subjects of 'cantilauit' (p.32 22). The reason alleged for their misery, 'quia non sponte ad laudem, sed necessario ad salutem nitebantur', is somewhat surprising, for though it may be assumed correct for Arion in his plight, it does not apply at all to Orpheus (unless Apuleius supposes that the tigers would otherwise have attacked him). Moreover, in normal circumstances, both singers pleased men as well as animals, and Arion's wealth thus acquired was in fact the cause of his danger. For Apuleius' unfair comparisons, cf. his description in Fl. 9 of Hippias and his artifacts, almost without mention of his literary works. The full-stop after nitebantur, which appears correctly in other editions, is omitted in Helm's text by a printer's error, as the spacing of the letters shows.

17.p.33 5 secretaria. Cf. De Mundo 17 terrarū secretariis. 'secretarium' (cf. 'secretum') = 'secret place', appears first in Apuleius (Köziol p.272), possibly formed on the analogy of adjectives in -arius (e.g. 'solitarius'), although it is attested only as a neuter noun. Cf. 'monumentarius' (coined from 'momentum') at 4 p.5 18. For nouns similarly formed (e.g. 'donarium' at 15 p.20 2), see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I pp.211-12.

17 p.33³/₅ uti/n7quam. For the reading utiquam (Rohde) in place of ut inquam, see note on 'nec minus utiquam blando formento' at 16 p.26 19. If utiquam is right, Apuleius is using it in the sense of utique (the reading proposed by Brantius here, and by Scriverius at 16 p.26 19).

17 p.33 7 tesquis. See note on 'tesquis' at 11 p.16 14. <cantilenam pueritiae> fringultiunt. Ironenberg's insertion serves to balance canticum adulescentiae and carmen senectae (8-9), and is strongly supported by pueris et adulescentibus et senibus (at 10 below). Its loss may be due to the fact that 'fringultire' ('twitter', 'stutter') is normally intransitive (as at Apol. 34 p.39 28), so that the sense would appear to be complete without an object; Apuleius also uses the verb transitively, however, at Apol. 98 p.109 6 uix singulas syllabas fringultientem. Why the blackbird's song should be associated with childhood is far from clear; possibly the connection lies simply in the verb 'fringultiunt'. Blackbirds, like other birds, were sometimes kept as children's pets (Pliny En. IV 2 3).

17 p.33 8 in solitudine Africana. Helm, with Oudendorp and van der Vliet, retains the MSS reading Africana. The phrase has a certain mysterious charm, but Vallette is probably right in adopting Haupt's arcana (supported by Purser, Hermathena XIV p.412), which provides a better parallel to remotis and auios, and suits the known secretive habits of the nightingale; Krüger's aprica, though nearer the MSS, seems less likely. Van der Vliet's suggested opaca ('shady') and Helm's abscondita (app. crit.) are mere guesses. For the shyness of the nightingale, cf. Homer Od. XIX 520, where the bird sings 'sitting among the thick foliage of trees'; cf. Sophocles O.C. 671-8. In the Hamlyn Guide to Birds of Britain and Europe, p.258, the nightingale is described as 'very secretive, keeping well hidden in bushes. Much more often heard than seen ... Sings from depths of thickets, often at night.'

17 p.33 8 canticum adulescentiae garriunt. A possible connection with 'youth' is that the nightingale was believed to sing continuously in early spring, cf. Homer Od. XIX 519, Aristotle H.A. X 49B, Pliny N.H. X 81; hence 'garriunt'. Perhaps Apuleius is dissenting, like Keats, from the usual view that the nightingale's song is one of grief (see following note). Cf. Petronius Sat. 131 8 dignus amore locus: testis siluestris aedon, etc.

17 p.33 9 olores apud auos fluuios. 'olor' (poetical and in post-Augustan prose) is the native Latin word, although 'cygnus' was ordinarily used; cf. Isid. Orig. XII 7 19 olores autem latinum nomen est; nam Graece κύκνοι dicuntur. Apuleius uses both words at Flat. I 1 and De deo Socr. prol. 4. auos. Brantius proposed Asios to match Africana of the previous clause, comparing Virgil Aen. VII 701 sonat annis et Asia longe / pulsa palus. But the geographical contrast seems pointless, and if change is needed, it would clearly be preferable to emend Africana. carmen senectae. The 'swansong', believed to precede the bird's death, is appropriately called the song of old age; cf. Statius Theb. V 341 mitior et senibus cygnis et pectine Phoebi. It was usually represented as a lament, e.g. Aesch. Ag. 1444, Aristotle H.A. IX 12 4, Pliny N.H. X 63, but as a song of joy by Plato Phaed. 84 e - 85 b (imitated by Cicero Tusc. I 73), who denies that any bird sings when it is in pain or grieving, including the nightingale and swallow. As a Platonist, Apuleius would no doubt share this view. meditantur suggests a more sedate and deliberate performance than either of the two previous verbs.

17 p.33 10 enimvero. Adversative (cf. 3 p.5 11; 9 p.11 11, etc.). Apuleius returns to his earlier point that the usefulness of the human voice depends

on its being exercised where many can hear it. pueris et adolescentibus et senibus utile carmen. The agegroups which characterised the different birdsongs are now brought together in the conception of a large general audience benefited by Apuleius' 'carmen', though distinguished again as the recipients of Scipio Orfitus' 'indulgentia' at line 14 below. carmen and canat are here probably used by analogy with the birdsongs, but see following note on 'hoc meum ... carmen', where the word may have a different implication. in mediis milibus hominum. The phrase suggests both the populated city as opposed to remote country regions, and a crowded audience within that city. One would probably be entitled to infer from this passage that Apuleius' audiences ran into thousands, and that (sometimes at any rate) they included children.

17 p.33 12 hoc meum de uirtutibus Orfiti carmen. For the conjecture that this was a eulogistic poem, see Schanz-Hosius III p.117. In the context, one cannot be certain that the use of 'carmen' implies a composition in verse. The elder Cato wrote a 'Carmen de Moribus' which was certainly not in verse (Gellius XI II 2). It seems that the word could be applied to a collection of moral maxims or other formulaic material, such as the Twelve Tables, which a schoolboy might be required to learn by heart: Cicero Leg. II 59 *nostis quae sequuntur, discebamus enim pueri duodecim ut carmen necessarium*; cf. De Or. I 245 *in magistri carmine scriptum*. Cf. the 'Appii Caeci carmen' referred to by Cicero Tusc. IV 4 (cf. ps. Sallust Ep. ad Caes. I 1 2), which may have been in Saturnians. If Apuleius regarded his own 'carmen' as 'utile' (i.e. morally improving) for all ages, he may also have envisaged its later use as a school book, in appropriate acknowledgment of Scipio Orfitus' benefactions.

17 p.33 12 serum quidem fortasse, sed serius. Helm compares Metam. III 29 sed mihi sero quidem, serio tamen subuenit ad auxilium ciuile decurrere; cf. also Metam. V 6 tantum memineris meae seriae monitionis, cum coeperis sero paenitere. serum probably indicates that the present speech was delivered near the end of the proconsul's term of office, the virtues in question being those which he has shown during his proconsulship.

17 p.33 14 <et> iuuenibus. Koziol (p.328) rejects the insertion of et, citing other examples of partial asyndeton in Apuleius. There are no other examples in the Florida, however, and the style of the present passage perhaps favours the addition of et, though asyndeton might have accompanied the change from adulescentibus to iuuenibus.

17 p.33 14 indulgentia sua. The word can refer to official as well as private action; see A.R. Hands, Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome (Thames & Hudson, 1968), pp.110, 184-5. CIL XI 1147 ex indulgentia optimi maxumique principis; CIL IX 1455 ex indulgentia eius (both referring to Trajan's alimentary provision for children).

17 p.33 15 temperatoque desiderio et moderato remedio. The meaning is not absolutely clear; perhaps 'allaying their need and applying a controlled remedy'. For 'remedium' as the satisfaction of a physical need ('desiderium'), cf. Seneca Epist. 21 10-11 (of Epicurus) 'non irritant' ^h inquit 'hi hortuli famem, sed extinguunt, nec maiorem ipsis potionibus sitim faciunt, sed naturali et gratuito remedio sedant ...' de his tecum desideriis loquor ... quibus dandum est aliquid ut desinant etc. Cf. Livy XXI 4 6 cibi potionisque desiderio naturali non uoluptate modus finitus. Apuleius does not use 'desiderium' exactly in this sense elsewhere, but cf. Apol. 20 p.24 18 inopia desiderio, opulentia fastidio cernuntur.

17 p.33 16 dedit pueris saturitatem, iuuenibus hilaritatem, senibus securitatem. Pyrrhus interprets as an apt description of the typical 'appetitus' of each age/group, but it is not easy to see what Scipio Orfitus actually did to merit Apuleius' praise. Although the giving of cheer to young men might refer to public entertainment or relief from military burdens, the special mention of children and old people suggests rather some charitable provision such as 'alimenta' (maintenance allowances, usually for children), which would benefit the whole community. See Hands, op. cit. p.108 ff., and cf. Pliny's description of the general enthusiasm which greeted Trajan's programme of aid for children (Pan. 26 7): facile est coniectare quod perceperis gaudium, cum te parentum liberorum, senum infantium clamor exciperet. saturitatem: here only in Apuleius; cf. Plautus Capt. 41, 771, 865, 877 and Cicero Sen. 56.

17 p.33 18 impraesentiarum. Cf. 9 p.15 16, with note ad loc. mea ingenua uerecundia. As at the beginning of the excerpt, Apuleius professes a modest hesitancy in speaking, which he represents as matching a noble reluctance on the part of the proconsul to receive praise.

17 p.33 20 nequeo quin ... attingam. Ante- and post-classical for 'facere non possum quin'. Cf. Apol. 48 sollertiam tuam... nequeo quin laudem; Plaut. Mil. 1342, Ter. Hec 385; Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p. 266 f. quin ex plurimis ... ex his plurimis quin uel paucissima. The repetition is for emphasis and for the antithesis with paucissima. Cf. 'uerba ... ea uerba' at 15 p.23 1-2, with note ad loc.

17 p.33 22 ea mecum ... recognoscite. Cf. Apol. 25 uerba ipsa diuini uiri meminī, quae tu mecum, Maxime, recognosce. See note on 'recognouit' at 16 p.29 4 above. This final sentence perhaps led directly to the recitation of Apuleius' poem (if poem it was) in praise of the proconsul.

FLORIDA 18

Fl. 18 is introductory to the recitation of a dialogue and hymn which Apuleius has composed in honour of Aesculapius, possibly as a thank-offering for his recovery from the accident described in Fl. 16. Taking the theatre in which he is speaking as his starting point, he requests the audience not to be distracted by their surroundings but to listen in a serious spirit. He reminds them of the close ties he has with Carthage, where he received his early education and to which he will repay his debt, not as Euthylus cheated his master Protagoras, but as Thales asked a pupil to repay him, with due recognition and praise. He will therefore begin with the city's guardian deity, to whom he has composed a hymn in both Greek and Latin verse, prefaced by a dialogue, similarly in both languages, in which two of Carthage's leading citizens play the chief roles.

The two anecdotes which occupy the central portion of the passage, besides providing entertainment, seem intended to illustrate the contrasted values of sophist and philosopher. The first, the lawsuit of Protagoras and Euthylus, has its source in later eristic rather than the teaching of the older sophists, and belongs to a dialectical tradition, chiefly Megarian and Stoic, which Apuleius rejects. See W. & M. Kneale, The Development of Logic (Oxford 1962) pp. 12 ff. and 113 ff. His veneration for Thales, on the other hand, stems from the belief propagated by Aristotle's pupil Eudemus that Thales was the founder of geometry and astronomy as well as physical science.

Apuleius' hymn to Aesculapius may have been intended for ritual use (as were those of Aelius Aristides, see A. Boulanger, Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie, pp. 125 ff.), but his dialogue can have been 'dedicated' only in the sense of being composed in the god's honour. Since it had contemporary characters, it was probably modelled, like those of Cicero, on the Aristotelian popular dialogue

rather than the Socratic technique of Plato. Apuleius himself, however, does not seem to have appeared as a character in the dialogue. How the change from Greek to Latin was managed, one can only guess from the analogy of the De deo Socr. prol. 5; no doubt some plausible dramatic pretext was devised. It says much, both for Apuleius and his audience, that a recitation of this kind should have taken place before an assembled crowd of several thousands.

18 p.33 24 tanta multitudo ... conuenistis. For this opening, and the argument which follows that the speech, not the place, is the proper object of the audience's attention, cf. Fl. 5. For the reference to the size and learning of the audience, cf. 9 p.10 12 hunc incredibilem consessum ... tantam frequentiam, quanta ante me in auditorio philosophi numquam uisitata est; 17 p.32 20 in hac excellenti celebritate multorum eruditorum; cf. 20 p.41 16 ubi tota ciuitas eruditissimi estis.

18 p.34 1 quod philosophus non recusauerim dissertare. For the change from indicative to subjunctive, cf. 3 p.4 13 laudans sese, quod erat ... culpabat, quod Apollo esset ... In the present instance, the second quod-clause is dependent on a rejected alternative ('potius ... quam excusare'), which probably affects the construction. 'dissertare' (for 'disserere') is used by Apuleius only of public speaking, cf. Apol. 7 in auditorio dissertet; De deo Socr. 14 Latine dissertare. For the implied rejection of a possible clash between his two roles of philosopher and public speaker, cf. 16 p.27 1 non quin magnitudo Carthagini mereatur etiam a philosopho precem pro honore; Introduction pp.32-33.

18 p.34 3 pro magnitudine frequentiae locus delectus est. As in Fl. 5,

Apuleius argues that the mere fact of meeting in the theatre is not enough to determine the character of the occasion or the attitude of the audience. in auditorio hoc genus. The reference seems to be not so much to the place or the audience as to the occasion itself; cf. 'in auditorio philosophi' at 9 p.10 14. Apuleius normally uses 'auditorium' to mean 'audience', as at line 25 below; cf. 16 p.23 20, p.25 1, 9 p.10 11.

18 p.34 5 pauimenti marmoratio ... proscaenii contabulatio ... scaenae columnatio. We seem here to have a reference to the orchestra, the stage ('proscenium'), and the wall at the back of the stage ('scaenae frons'), which was elaborately constructed with pillars. See H. Belber, The History of the Greek and Roman Theater, p.209, fig. 705, and Sandys, Companion to Latin Studies, p.518. 'marmoratio' and 'columnatio' appear here for the first time (Koziol pp. 268 and 270), to balance 'contabulatio' which is attested in Caesar, B.C. II 9. Pyrrhus takes 'marmoratio' as equivalent to the noun 'marmoratum', a plaster of lime and marble mentioned by Varro P.R. III 7 3 and Pliny XXXVI 176, but it seems more natural to understand it as marble paving, just as 'contabulatio' is a boarded floor and 'columnatio' a backing of columns. On the Carthaginian theatre, built in the reign of Hadrian of the finest and rarest marbles and measuring about 140 metres in diameter, see A. Audollent, Carthage romaine p.684; L. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms IV p.256.

18 p.34 6 sed nec culminum eminentia. For 'sed nec' see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.517, Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.49; here the main function of sed is to separate the second grouping of phrases from the first. eminentia ... refulgentia ... circumferentia. Probably feminine nouns rather than neuter plurals: Cicero has 'eminentia' with the meaning 'extension' at N.D. I 105 (of the Epicurean gods) nec habent ullam soliditatem nec eminentiam; cf. Acad. II 20, where it is opposed to 'umbrae', of perspective painting;

Pliny N.H. XXXVII 174. 'refulgentia' and ~~'circumferentia'~~^{'circumferentia'} are first found in Apuleius (~~Kosiol pp. 267 and 272~~); the latter is also attested ~~the gromatici and in~~ in Martianus Capella, VIII 817, and Hyginus gromaticus, De limitibus constituendis (Blume, Lachmann & Raderff, p. 189 6 ff.), with the meaning 'circumference'. Here Apuleius uses it for the semi-circular shape or 'curving sweep' of the rows of seats in the auditorium. culminum eminentia probably refers to the stage roof, the plural being used to match the other two phrases. The theatre itself was not normally roofed, though Vitruvius V 6 4 speaks of a covered colonnade built at the back of the auditorium, its roof level with the top of the wall at the back of the stage, and of covered colonnades behind the stage (ib. 9 1; see note on 'imber repentino coortus' at 16 p. 24 23). The 'culmen' was usually the highest part of the roof (see D. S. Robertson, A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture p. 197), but if this is the meaning here, it is difficult to see how the audience could at the same time see its under side or ceiling ('lacunaria'). One would need to assume either a slope upwards in the direction of the audience, so that the highest point was on the side nearest to them, or some kind of gable structure. For the construction of the stage roof, with its 'further lower roof or ceiling', see Robertson op. cit. pp. 277 ff. lacunarium refulgentia. Cf. 23 p. 43 22 lacunaria auro oblita; Pliny N.H. XXXV 124, etc.

13 p. 34 7 nec quod hic alias ... This clause is to be taken as a further subject of 'spectari debet', but with a slight change of meaning: 'nor must attention be paid to the fact that ...' (cf. the second 'spectari debet' at line 12 below). Of the six types of entertainment listed, the first three are forms of drama involving speech, the last three require some physical dexterity other than speech; they thus correspond to the

3 + 3 arrangement of the six architectural features previously mentioned. mimus halucinatur. Cf. 5 p.6 l si mimus est, riseris; 4 p.5 20 (with note), and Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy pp.13-15, 70-72. 'halucinari' ('wander in the mind', 'talk at random') seems to be used here for what we should call 'fooling'. comoedus sermocinatur. 'sermocinari' suggests common speech and an ordinary conversational tone as opposed to the 'ranting' of the tragic actor; cf. Cicero Inu. II 54 quemadmodum ... homines in consuetudine scribendi aut sermocinandi eo uerbo uti soleant, considerabitur. tragoedus uociferatur. Cf. 17 p.32 4 boando purgant rauim. Tragic actors adopted a louder and more sonorous style of speaking than comic actors; see Haigh, The Attic Theatre (Oxford, 3rd ed. 1907) pp.273-5, who quotes numerous ancient references, among them Demosthenes Cor. 262 and Lucian Anacharsis 23.

18 p.34 9 funerepus periclitatur. See note on 'si funerepus, timeris' at 5 p.6 l. praestigiator furstur. The verb normally has the literal meaning 'steal' or 'remove by stealth'; here it probably refers to the conjurer's trick of causing objects to disappear. Seneca Eq. 45 8 mentions 'cups' and 'pebbles': sic ista sine noxa decipiunt, quomodo praesitigiatorum acetabula et calculi, in quibus me fallacia ipsa delectat. histrio gesticulatur. The word 'histrio', originally used for all types of actor, was in later times applied chiefly to the dancer or 'pantomimus', whose expressive bodily movements are denoted by the verb 'gesticulari'. See Furneaux' note on 'histrionum' at Tacitus Ann. I 54 3; cf. Ann. XIII 25 4 and XIV 21 7; Juvenal VII 90 quod non dant procures, dabit histrio; Petronius Sat. 52 atque ipse erectis supra frontem manibus Syrum histrionem exhibebat. Apulcius similarly differentiates the 'histrio' from the 'tragoedus' and 'mimus' at Apol. 13 tragoedi syrmatē, histrionis crocota ...

mimi cent^oculo. Cf. Apol. 74 mox in iuuentute saltandis fabulis exossis plane et eneruis, sed, ut audio, indocta et rudi mollitia; negatur enim quicquam histrionis habuisse praeter impudicitiam. For gesticulatur cf. Suetonius Dom. 8 3 quaestorium uirum, quod gesticulandi saltandique studio teneretur, mouit senatu; Nero 42 2 carmina ... etiam gesticulatus est.

18 p.34 10 ludiones. The more common word is 'ludius' ('player'), e.g. Cicero Sest. 116, Harusp. Resp. 23, Ovid A.A. I 112. Livy uses 'ludio' in his account of the origins of drama at VII 2 4-6 ludiones ex Etruria excitati ... quia ister Tusco uerbo ludio uocabatur, etc. Cf. Corp. Gloss. Lat. V 572 ludio Tusco uerbo dicitur histrio.

18 p.34 11 supersessis. 'supersedere', normally used with the ablative, is found with the dative at Apol. 17 (fin.) huic maledicto supersedisset, and with the accusative in a literal sense at Metam. X 11 ansa, quam ... supersedebat aspis; cf. Gell. II 29 13 operam (MISS, opera Rosius), quam dare rogati sunt, supersederunt. For the use of the passive, cf. Auct. Herenn. II 26 haec causa ... non uisa est supersedenda.

18 p.34 12 comuenientium ratio et dicentis oratio. For the collocation 'ratio et oratio', see note on 13 p.18 7. Here the phrase is adapted to mean the 'reason' (or 'motive') of the audience in assembling and the actual 'speech' to which they are listening.

18 p.34 13 hic ibidem. 'Here in this very place'. The phrase implies that the plays in question were performed on the Carthaginian stage, i.e. in the theatre in which Apuleius is speaking. For 'hic ibidem' cf. Metam. I 22 hic ibidem me opprimino; Metam. IV 17, Apol. 44 and 101; and see note on 'ibidem in loco celebri' at 14 p.19 6. substitere ('put

in place of') is here used, as at line 20 below, for an imaginary change of scene; cf. Apol. 102 putate uos causam non apud Claudium Maximum agere ... sed aliquem prauum et sacuum iudicem substituⁱte.

18 p.34 15 'Liber, cui augusta haec loca Cithaeronis colis'. Ribbeck² 217. Author and play are not known, but Ribbeck conjectures the Antiope of Pacuvius. The fact that the scene is actually set on Cithaeron ('haec loca') accords with what is known of this play (Hyginus fab. 8; see Warmington, Remains of Old Latin II p.164 ff.).

18 p.34 17 perparuum partim. The lines quoted are from the opening of the Truculentus (prol. 1-3), where the corruptions in the Plautine MSS can be corrected with the help of Apuleius. Lindsay (O.C.T.) reads partem for MSS artem. Apuleius' partim is the reading of F, ϕ has partem, and Priscian De metris Terentii 9 (Keil Gramm. Lat. III p.421 14 ff.) has partem in his quotation of the lines. The archaic partim is found as a true accusative at Lucretius VI 88 (=384) and 661, and possibly at CIL I² 37, but the later picture is complicated by the use of the adverb 'partim', sometimes with partitive genitive, standing in the position of an accusative in the sentence, though it can also stand as nominative, e.g. Cicero Or. II 94 sed eorum partim in pompa, partim in acie inlustres esse uoluerunt (see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.26 for further examples). Cf. Apol. 27 ut partim eorum ... irreligiosos putant ... partim autem, qui prouidentiam mundi curiosius inuestigant ... eos uero uulgo magos nominant; Apol. 56 ut audio partim Oeensium qui istum nouere (where 'partim' = 'a quibusdam'). Gellius X 13 vouches for 'partim hominum uenerunt and also for 'cum partim hominum' and other similar phrases, quoting Cato and Claudius Quadrigarius. Butler and Owen's statement (Commentary on the

Apologia, p.119) that partim is used as a substantive in Cicero, Sallust and Livy is seriously misleading, for the examples show its use as an indeclinable adverb, not as an accusative of 'pars'. Apuleius may, nevertheless, have considered partim the correct form of the accusative to use when quoting Plautus.

18 p.34 19 'Athenas quo sine architectis conferat.' The line very aptly illustrates Apuleius' point, by bringing Athens into the theatre rather than taking the audience to Athens; contrast Men. 49 ff., where the speaker of the prologue says he must now return to Epidamnus and offers to do business there for members of the audience. quo sine is the accepted reading for MSS quos in.

18 p.34 21 nullam longinquam et transmarinam ciuitatem hic, sed enim ipsius Karthagini uel curiam uel bybliothecam substituere. The use of sed enim in simple opposition to a previous negative, with shared verb, appears to be unparalleled. Normally 'sed enim' introduces a further main clause, as at Gellius VI 3 16 (quoting Cato's speech For the Phocians)
 haut scio an partim eorum fuerint, qui non nostrae contumeliae causa id noluerint euenire; sed enim id metuere, ne ... quicquid luberet faceremus.
 The positive statement, introduced by 'sed enim', contrasts with the previous negative but also confirms and explains it. Cf. the use of
 ἀλλὰ γάρ in an epigram attributed to Simonides (quoted by Denniston, The Greek Particles p.102) ἄνθρωπ', οὐ Κροίσου θεύσσεις τάφον·
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἄνδρὸς / χερνήτεω· μικρὸς τύμβος, ἔμοι δ' ἱκανός.
curiam uel bybliothecam. Delattre (Bull tin Epigraphique V 1885 p.87) locates the library, together with the city archives, in the temple of Aesculapius, on the basis of fragmentary inscriptions found on the site, and suggests that Apuleius' discourse in the temple referred to below

(p.39 8) may have taken place in this library. Cf. Bouchier, Life and Letters in Roman Africa p. 78, who conjectures that Apuleius may at times have discoursed in the curia. The present passage hardly justifies these conclusions, however, especially since Apuleius mentions the library as a place for reading, not for listening ('ut si in bybliothea legantur'), and for the majority of his audience, actually listening to a speech in the curia would have been out of the question. Apuleius merely means that these places would suit the serious character of his address, and the purpose of his audience in assembling to listen to it.

18 p.34 22 proinde habetote ... ut si. 'ut si' (comparative) is found with adverbial expressions such as 'eodem modo', 'similiter', but 'proinde' seems to be more common with 'ac si' or 'quasi'; cf. Cic. Att. III 13 1 proinde habēbo ac si scripsisses nihil esse; Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.454. Becker, Studia Apuleiana p.41-2, wrongly takes proinde with igitur as a pleonasm.

18 p.34 25 quo(d) utinam. quod is the accepted correction of MSS quo. Becker op. cit. p.40 points out that Apuleius uses 'quod utinam' in his speeches (Fl. 7 p.9 5, De deo Socr. prol. 4, Apol. 4, 22 and 96), but prefers 'atque utinam' in the Metamorphoses (II 31, III 25, VII 25). multitudine. The general consensus of editors other than Helm indicates that amplitudine is the true reading here. As no variant is recorded, one must assume (with the Index Apuleianus p.269) that multitudine is a printing error.

18 p.34 26 ac non hic maxime clauderet. A negative wish following a positive is normally introduced by 'neque' (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p. 331), but for 'ac non' and 'et non' used in a corrective sense, see Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p. 41. clauderet. Helm compares De deo Socr. 17 ut ubi dubitatione clauderet, ibi diuinatione consisteret. Cf. Cicero Or. 170 quid est cur claudere aut insistere orationem maius quam cum sententia pariter excurrere? The more common form is 'claudicare' (see

Ernout-Meillet p.126 s.v. claudus). cuperem. The verb of the relative clause is attracted into the imperfect subjunctive, as part of the wish.

18 p.34 28 qui aiunt. Brakman (Mnemosyne XXXVI 1908 p.37-8) prefers quod aiunt with Bosscha, referring to Metam. II 7 quod aiunt, pedibus in sententiam meam uado; VII 16 scilicet ut, quod aiunt, domi forisque fortibus facis ... gloriarer. If qui aiunt is retained, eorum must be understood; cf. Nepos X 9 5 miseranda uita, qui se metui quam amari malunt; Livy XXIX 6 6 ut mos est, qui diu absunt; Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.282. For 'qui aiunt' introducing an ethical maxim, cf. Apol. 40 instituto magistrorum meorum, qui aiunt hominem liberum et magnificum debere ... in primori fronte animum gestare.

18 p.34 28 nihil quicquam homini tam prosperum diuinitus datum. 'nihil quicquam' (cf. 9 p.10 20) is stated by Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p. 802 and Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p. 652 to be ante- and post-classical, but ^{is the reading of four MSS at} Cic. Am. 20 amicitia ... qua quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nil quicquam melius homini sit a dis immortalibus datum. Apuleius' version of the popular sentiment, that all good is mixed with some ill, seems to be based on Homer Il. XXIV 527 ff., where Achilles speaks of the god-given happiness of Peleus, marred only by the lack of sons, for the one son he has is destined to die young. diuinitus datum. Cf. 17 p.32 16 homini uox diuinitus data.

18 p.35 2 coniugatione quadam mellis et fellis. 'coniugatio', used cf physical 'mating' by Solinus 26 3 (cf. the verb 'coniugare' at Metam. V 26 fin.), is more often found in a grammatical or logical context; e.g. throughout the $\kappa\epsilon\pi\lambda\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\eta\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ for the linking of the two premisses in the syllogism by a common term, and at Cicero Top. 12 and 18 for the bringing together of words different in grammatical form but with a common root (cf. the so-called 'figura etymologica'). mellis et fellis.

Cf. Plautus Cist. 69-70 namque ecastor Amor et melle et felle est fecundissimus; / gustui dat dulce, amarum ad satietatem usque oggerit. The 'mel' 'fel' antithesis also occurs at Poen. 394 and Truc. 178-9; cf. Gatscha, Quaestiones Apuleianarum Capita Tria p.152; Otto, Sprichwörter, p.217. Helm compares Plaut. Amph. 635 ita dis est placitum, uoluptatem ut maeror comes consequatur. The close proximity and interdependence of pleasure and pain are remarked on by Socrates in the Phaedo (60B), and by the sophist Antiphon (Stob. Flor. III 6 45 = IV 22 66; Diels-Kranz⁶ II p.358 7 ff.).

18 p.35 3 ubi uber, ibi tuber. 'Where it's rich, there's the swelling' (or 'where the udder, there the cyst'). These words have a proverbial ring, but their interpretation is very uncertain. Butler (notes to translation p.237) interprets: "Wherever you get rich soil, there you will find pignuts", and translates 'There is no rose without a thorn'. Otto, Sprichwörter p.352, disagrees and gives his own rendering as "'Gut macht Übermut'. Wo Reichtum in Fülle, da giebt es auch beulenartige Auswuchse". The Valpy edition of Oudendorp takes uber as noun in the literal sense of 'breast', and tuber as an allusion to the ailments of wet nurses; so Vallette, who translates: 'là où il y a mamelle, là il y a bosse'. Of these three explanations, only the last gives a meaning for tuber which carries the correct implication of 'flaw, disadvantage' (cf. Horace Sat. I 3 73, where 'tubera' are contrasted with 'uerrucae' as large and small faults respectively. Otto's 'Übermut' ('pride') is not relevant here, and if, on the other hand, tuber = 'pignut' or 'truffle', it would be a desirable delicacy rather than a drawback). There is perhaps no need to assume an allusion to wet nurses, since 'uber' (noun) is more often applied to the udder of an animal, and the proverb might equally well have arisen in a farming context. However, it is not easy to decide

whether uber is noun ('udder') or adjective ('rich, copious'), or whether there is not, indeed, some common factor in the meaning of both which assists the application of the proverb. The metaphorical meaning of the noun (= 'uber agri') is late and poetical, and so unlikely to be in question here. See O. Szemerényi on 'Lat. über', Glotta XXXIV 1955 p.272 ff., who rejects the usual view that the adjective is derived from the noun, and derives both from a common Indo-European root with the meaning 'swell'. leading to the notion of 'abundance, opulence'.

18 p.35 3 cum /in/ alias. Floridus deleted in, but Becichemus and Oudendorp read ante alias, which gives a stronger contrast with etiam nunc impraesentiarum. Colvius, on the other hand, omits nunc, perhaps to avoid the meaning 'still', which seems to arise if nunc is taken closely with etiam, especially if ante precedes. Apuleius does not elsewhere join 'alias' with 'ante', though he has 'saepe alias' at Apol. 45 and 97, De mundo prol. init. usu experior. Cf. 9 p.10 14 ff., where Apuleius speaks of the difficulty of living up to his audience's high expectations of him, and 17 p.33 17, where he professes hesitation and reluctance to speak.

18 p.35 5 ad commendationem suffragia. 'Expressions of favourable opinion and support': cf. 16 p.29 13 locupletissimus testis suo etiam suffragio commendat, with note ad loc. The phrase 'ad commendationem' seems intended to balance 'ad dicendum' in the next clause. For 'ad' = 'with a view to', 'in respect of', see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I pp.522-3. ad dicendum ... cunctatior. Cf. Suet. Iul. 60 ad dimicandum cunctatior. These two instances of the past participle of 'cunctari' used as a comparative adjective are accepted as genuine by the Thes. Ling. Lat. IV 1396 37, and the Oxford Latin Dictionary (1969) Fasc. II p.471. The form 'cunctantior' is preferred at Pliny Ep. II 16 4 and IX 13 6 (where 'cunctatior' occurs

as a MS variant, as at Tacitus Hist. III 4, where the O.C.T. reads 'cunctator'). For Apuleius' use of past participles as comparatives, see note on 'uariatior' at 17 p.32 7.

18 p.35 7 penes extrarios. 'extrarius' ('stranger') is primarily one who is not a member of the immediate family or household, or not a close friend: e.g. Apol. 68 si extrario nubsisset; letam. VIII 22 liberae cuiusdam extrariaeque mulieris flagrabat amore; Ter. Phorm. 579 nam hanc condicionem siquid tulerio extrario; Quint. VII 4 9 quod sub extrario accusatore ... prodesse numquam potest, in domesticis disceptationibus potest. Apuleius here and at line 24 below extends the use of the word to audiences outside the speaker's home town, i.e. not composed of fellow citizens ('meos', 'suos'). The inference is, not only that Apuleius now has Carthaginian citizenship, but that the ties which bind him to his Carthaginian audiences are very close; cf. 16 p.23 23 f. quibus me in perpetuum firmiter dedicaui. For 'penes' (cf. 'penes meos' below), see note on 'penes iudices' at p.36 20.

18 p.35 8 promptissime disceptaui. Wowerius proposed dissertaui for disceptaui, no doubt because Apuleius does not use the latter verb elsewhere for his own public speaking; he uses it, however, at Apol. 15 of speeches in court as compared with philosophical discourse: utrum igitur putas maiorem curam decoris in adseueranda oratione suscipiendum rhetori iuranti an philosopho obiurganti, apud iudices sorte ductos paulisper disceptanti an apud omnes homines semper disserenti, etc. It is not clear from the context whether the two verbs 'disceptanti' and 'disserenti' are being contrasted or used as synonyms; at Sall. Jug. 11 2 and 5 both are used in the same sense of 'discuss'. On the other hand, Apuleius uses 'dissertare' only of speaking in public (= 'publice disserere',

see note on 'quod philosophus non recusauerim d'ssertare' at p.34 l above), so that 'promptissime dissertaui' might mean 'I have very readily given a public address' rather than 'I have discoursed freely'. Moreover, Apuleius does not normally combine 'dissertare' with an adverb, as he does 'disserere' (e.g. Apol. 49 sollertissime disseruit). It seems better, therefore, to retain disceptaui here, as equivalent to 'disserui'.

18 p.35 9 ipsis inlecebris deterreor et stimulis refrenor et incitantis cohibeor. Three striking examples of oxymoron, carefully prepared for by 'haesito' and 'mirum dictu'. For the tricolon of virtually synonymous phrases cf. 21 p.42 13 cohibent cursum, releuant gradum, retardant equum.

18 p.35 10 an non multa ... adhortamina. 'an non' is sometimes used for an emphatic 'nonne', as 'an' for a strengthened 'num'; for examples both in dialogue and in continuous discourse see Kühner-Stegmann 2 II 519-20. 'adhortamen' is an Apuleian variant for 'hortamen', 'hortamentum', both of which are used by Livy in the sense of 'encouraging factor' (X 29 5 hortamen; VII 11 6 hortamenta).

18 p.35 11 nec lare alienus ... The following list sets out, in something like chronological order, the various aspects of Apuleius' claim to be speaking 'apud meos', which he elaborates further in the next sentence. All six phrases are examples of litotes. 'lar' here means 'father's house' or 'birthplace', i.e. Apuleius is of local origin. nec pueritia inuisitatus. 'Not unfamiliar in childhood'; referring to Apuleius' schooldays in Carthage. At 10 p.16 6 'inuisitata' is used in the sense of 'invisible'. nec magistris peregrinus. 'Not foreign in respect of my teachers' must mean 'I did not go to foreign parts for my education', a statement which is only partly true (as he explains below). rec secta incoznitus. 'secta' here seems to combine the meanings of 'way of life' and adherence to a particular 'school' of philosophy; cf. line 15 below,

where it virtually means 'philosophical training'. For 'secta' in the more general sense, cf. Plat. II 8 (rhetoricae pars) apta et conueniens cum secta eius, qui politicus uult uideri; ibid. 13 sectas atque ingenia contraria; ibid. 22 (init.) qua mores eorum sectaeque conueniunt. nec uoce inauditus. 'inauditus' of persons is usually found in a legal context, used ¹positionally ('without a hearing'). Here the litotes is very marked, i.e. Apuleius is heard a great deal. nec libris inlectus improbatusue. Ovid has 'inlectum' of the thing written at A.A. I 469; it is here used of the person by a very natural analogy with the other adjectives (cf. 'legar' at Ovid Tr. V 14 5, etc.). The meaning of 'improbatus' seems to be 'unapproved' rather than 'disapproved', i.e. it is being used as a negative of 'probatus' rather than as the past participle of 'improbari'. Cf. Seneca Dial. IX 9 6 quid habes, cur ignoscas homini ... corpora conquirenti aut ignotorum auctorum aut improbatorum? Apuleius uses the word in the normal way at Metam. VIII 2 morum tamen improbatus repulsae contumelia fuit aspersus. For the quasi-copulative use of -ue after a negative, cf. Cic. Fam. 13 3 nullum reperiens profecto, quod non fractum debilitatumue sit; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II pp.499-500.

18 p.35 13 ita mihi et patria ... 'ita' is here explanatory, as often in Plautus (see Sonnenschein's note on Rud. 87; = 'enim', Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.514), introducing the positive counterpart of the previous sentence, with its string of negatives. For 'patria' in the restricted sense of native town or area, cf. Virgil Ecl. I 3-4, etc.

18 p.35 14 in concilio Africae, id est uestro. Iadaurus, like the other African communities, was represented on the 'concilium prouinciae', which met at Carthage; hence the proprietary interest of the Carthaginians ('id est uestro'). See note on 'sacerdotii suscepti' at 16 p.29 10; Audollent,

Carthage romaine p.414. Colvius' reading confinio for concilio is based on Apol. 24 de patria mea uero, quod eam sitam Numidiae et Gaetuliae in ipso confinio ... ostendistis, where the meaning clearly is 'on the border between'; it is doubtful whether the phrase could be extended to mean 'within the territory of'. Elsewhere Apuleius uses 'confinium' in the general sense of 'boundary', 'proximity': e.g. Metam. XI 23 accessi confinium mortis; II 17 (fin.) ad confinia lucis; IV 10 (fin.) periculi confinio territus; V 21 (init.) tanti mali confinium ... metuentes; IV 14 (of a bear-skin) capite adusque confinium ceruicis solido; cf. 'confinis' = 'bordering on': De deo Socr. 7 (fin.) in aeris plagis terrae conterminis nec minus confinibus caelo; Apol. 48 (fin.) (rem) neque culpa neque crimini confinem. It seems, therefore, that 'in confinio Africae' would place Madaurus on the wrong side of the border, not within the province. id est uestro. Van der Vliet attests this as the reading of Φ . There appears to be no MS authority for Oudendorp's enimvero.

18 p.35 15 secta, licet Athenis Atticis confirmata, tamen hic incohata est. Here Apuleius clearly states that his interest in philosophy, if not his training, began at Carthage. At 20 p.41 2 he mentions philosophy as part of the more advanced education he received at Athens. Athenis Atticis. This collocation appears especially in Plautus (cf. Rud. 741, Pseud. 416), where Leo, Plautinische Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der Komödie (Berlin, 2nd ed. 1912) p.220 note 2, conjectures that the epithet is to avoid confusion with other Greek cities of the same name; cf. Varro L.L. VIII 35 cum trinae fuerint Athenae, ab una dicti Athenai, ab altera Athenais, a tertia Athenaeopolitae. Cf. Metam. I 24 Pythias condiscipulus apud Athenas Atticas meus.

18 p.35 16 utracue lingua. See Introduction pp.35-6. ante proximum sexennium. For the dating, see Introduction p.23. iam uestris auribus ... probe cognita: cf. De deo Socr. 2 (fin.) quorum nomina quidem sunt nostris auribus iam diu cognita.

18 p.35 18 quin et libri rei. For 'quin et', cf. Hor. Carm. I 10 13, Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.483. For the popularity of Apuleius' books, see Introduction p.31. It would appear from 16 p.30 19 ff. that they also enjoyed a wide circulation and high reputation outside Carthage.

18 p.35 20 totiuga inuitamenta communia. 'So many shared inducements'. The repeated use of 'uestro', 'uos', 'uestris' in the previous sentence has reminded the audience of the extent of their involvement with the speaker. Apuleius now points out that the same factors which should be encouraging him to speak are in fact stimulating his audience to listen, though causing hesitation in himself. For 'totiugus', see note on 'totiugi scientia' under 'tam numerosa arte multiscium' at 9 p.13 5. For 'inuitamentum', cf. Metam. I 4 inuitamento exiguae stipis; Cic. Fam. X 10 2 (honos) non inuitamentum ad tempus sed perpetuae uirtutis est praemium.

18 p.35 20 ad audiendum prolectant ... ad audⁱ/endⁱum retardant. The MSS have audiendum twice; Vossius' correction of the second to audendum restores sense, together with an effective use of paronomasia. retardant here takes ad with gerund under the influence of prolectant; cf. Cic. Sen. 57 ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, uerum etiam inuitat atque allectat senectus. This construction is normal with 'tardus', cf. 'ad dicendum ... cunctatior' at line 6 above. For prolectant ('entice'), cf. Metam. V 2 prolectante studio; V 7 prolectante gaudio; XI 7 auiscalae

prolectatae uerno tepore; Apol. 91 nullam mihi causam fuisse Pudentillam ueneficiis ad nuptias prolectandi.

18 p.35 22 alibi gentium. See note on 'ubique gentium semper annorum' at 16 p.30 21.

18 p.35 23 ita. 'So true it is that': see note on 'ita mihi et patria' at line 13 above. modestia obnoxia ... ueritas libera. The two adjectives are being used as contraries, 'submissive, timid' as opposed to 'free, outspoken'. Cf. Livy XXIII 12 9 si reticeam, aut superbus aut obnoxius uidear, quorum alterum est hominis alienae libertatis obliti, alterum suae. apud extrarios. See note on 'penes extrarios' at line 7 above. For the inhibiting effect of modesty, cf. 17 p.33 17-20.

18 p.35 24 semper adeo et ubique. For similar expressions in connection with praise or gratitude, cf. 16 p.27 12 and p.30 21. The use of enclitic 'adeo' with adverbs of time seems to be ante- and post-classical and poetic; cf. 'nunc adeo', Virg. aen. IX 156, Plaut. Rud. 728, Mil. 159, etc.; Gellius II 23 4 nuper adeo. The usage is fairly common with pronouns and demonstratives (e.g. 'id adeo', Cicero, Sallust, Livy); see note on 'tragoedi adeo' at 17 p.32 3.

18 p.35 24 vos quippe ut parentis. If quippe is to be understood in relation to the whole sentence (= 'enim'), its late position is highly unusual; elsewhere in Apuleius it does not occur later than the third place, e.g. Fl. I p.1 11 parua haec quippe; letam. VIII 21 conspicatam se quippe; Plat. II 25 regi eam quippe. It is therefore tempting to take quippe ut together (= 'quippe qui tamquam parentes estis'), although there seems to be no parallel for such a use elsewhere.

18 p.35 26 Protagora sophista. Cf. p.36 3 Protagora, qui sophista fuit. The use of the Latinised form of the nominative, also found in Plautus and Terence and other early writers, is an archaism; cf. Quintilian I 5 61, who says that most early authors wrote 'Aenea' and 'Anchisa'. In spite of this, Apuleius has the Greek accusative 'Protagoran' at p.36 6, cf. 'Pythagoran' at 15 p.21 11-12, and the Greek form of the nominative, e.g. 'Hippias' at 9 p.11 25, 'Pythagoras' at 15 p.21 9. Gellius XVII 5 3 has 'sophista'; Cicero prefers 'sophistes', e.g. at N.D. I 63 Abderites quidem Protagoras ... sophistes temporibus illis uel maximus. See O. Weise, Die griechischen Wörter im Latein (Leipzig 1964) pp. 46 and 244.

18 p.36 1 pepiguit nec accepit. For 'nec' = 'et non', see Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.39; cf. Cic. Rep. III 23 facere iniuriam nec accipere. Plato (Protag. 349 a) states that Protagoras was the first to call himself a sophist and to exact a fee for his instruction. According to Aristotle (E.N. 1164 a 24-6), Protagoras was said to have allowed his pupils to put their own price on his teaching; Plato makes this an alternative method of payment, in case the pupil was unwilling to pay the amount charged (Protag. 328 b). Any story of litigation based on an agreement or contract to pay a definite sum is therefore unlikely to be authentic.

18 p.36 1 Thales sapiens. 'sapiens' is contrasted with 'sophista'; Thales receives this title both as a philosopher and as one of the Seven Sages (p.37 10 below). nec pepigit et accepit. For 'nec ... et' see Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.48; cf. Cato Agg. 130 ita neque fumosa erunt et ardebunt bene.

18 p.36 2 uideo, quid postuletis. Cf. 16 p.24 5 an etiam de ingenio pauca uultis? De deo Socr. prol. 5 iam dudum scio, quid hoc significatu flagitetis. See Introduction p.43. utranque: sc. mercedem. Salmasius'

utrumque is therefore unnecessary.

18 p.36 3 longe multiscius. See note at 3 p.4 17 'et arte multiscius'. 'longe', commonly used with comparatives and superlatives, or adjectives involving comparison, is occasionally used by Apuleius with the ordinary positive adjective or adverb, in the sense of 'very': e.g. letar. I 21 longe opulentus; V 11 longe firmiter; Apol. 17 longe incluto.

18 p.36 3 cum primis rhetoricae repertoribus perfacundus. All the early sophists were concerned with various aspects of the logos, but Protagoras' name is especially associated with the art of debate owing to his famous offer to teach his pupils how to 'make the worse the better cause' (Arist. Rhet. II 24 11, 1402 a). See W. K. C. Guthrie, A History of Greek Philosophy III p.267. Apuleius seems to be using 'cum primis ... repertoribus' ('among the early inventors') in a sense borrowed from the phrase 'cum primis' = 'especially' (e.g. 7 p.8 15-16, Cic. Brut. 224, Gell. I 13 7, etc.). The intensive 'perfacundus' is Apuleian (Koziol p.276; Walde-Hofmann I p.444).

18 p.36 4 Democriti physici cuius aequaeuus. Like Protagoras (born c.490), Democritus was a native of Abdera, but his birth is usually put about 30 years later, i.e. 460 B.C. (see Guthrie op.cit. II p.386, III p.262). The tradition that made Protagoras a pupil of Democritus appears in Diog. Laert. IX 50 and 53, Pseudostr. V.S. 494, Gellius V 3, together with an improbable tale that Democritus became interested in Protagoras when, as a young man, the latter worked as a porter carrying bundles of wood. Cf. Schol. ad Plat. Rep. 400 c, Athen. VIII 50 (354C). According to Diogenes and Athenaeus, the story goes back to Epicurus. On the probable Epicurean origin of the tradition and its effect on chronology, see J. I. Davison, 'Protagoras, Democritus and Anaxagoras', CQ 1953 pp.38-9. Since Apuleius puts Protagoras among the early inventors of rhetoric, it is clear that he follows a version which pre-dates Democritus, not one which post-

dates Protagoras.

18 p.36 5 inde ei suppeditata doctriⁿa est. Apuleius gives no details of the 'learning' which he supposes Protagoras to have derived from Democritus. In the version which Athenaeus (VIII 50) ascribes to Epicurus, Protagoras was actually taught to read and write by his master, and was for a time his secretary; in Gellius (V 3 6) he receives a complete philosophical education. Any philosophical influence would, of course, have to be the other way round, but in fact there seems to have been very little common ground between these two famous Abderites.

18 p.36 6 eum Protagoran. For the anacolouthon, see note on 'Alexandro illi ... eius igitur Alexander^{ri}' at 7 p.8 3, and Introduction p.40. For the Greek accusative, see note on 'Protagora sophista', p.35 26 above.

18 p.36 6 suo sibi discipulo Euathlo. See note on 'suis sibi manibus' at 9 p.12 6; cf. 'suo sibi lectulo' at 16 p.25 14. Euathlo. The name occurs in the other two versions of this story: Diog. Laert. IX 56 and Gellius V 10. Euathlus is also mentioned by Quintilian III 1 10 as having paid Protagoras 10,000 denarii for instruction which he afterwards published in the form of a handbook. According to Diog. Laert. IX 54, Aristotle gave Euathlus as the name of the prosecutor at Protagoras' trial for impiety (possibly in 421 B.C.; for the date see Davison, CQ 1953 p.35 ff.). A certain Euathlus is also derided by Aristophanes (Acharn. 710, cf. Vasps 592 and fr. 411), as associated with Cephisodemus in the prosecution in his old age of Thucydides son of Melesias (around 426 B.C.). Although there is no reason to identify this Euathlus with Protagoras' pupil, the coincidence of the name and its meaning might have given rise to the present story, which is also told of the Sicilian Corax and a pupil (Sextus Empiricus Adv. Math. II 96-99).

18 p.36 7 condicione temeraria. In Apuleius' version, the fee was to be paid only if Euathlus won his first case; the bargain is thus represented as a gamble on the part of Protagoras to obtain a higher fee. In Gellius (V 10), half the money is to be paid in advance and half when Euathlus has won his first case. In Sextus' version, payment is conditional on winning the first case, but the initiative for the bargain comes from the pupil. tum demum here = 'only on condition that'. primo tirocinio agendi; i.e. his first case in court; cf. Quint. XII 6 3 *nec rursus differendum tirocinium in senectutem*.

18 p.36 10 exorebula. A word borrowed from Plautus Truc. 27 (*amans*) *quot exoretur exorabulis*, where Plautus seems to have invented it for comic effect. For the instrumental sense of the suffix, cf. 'uenabulum', 'uocabulum'; for its local sense, see note on 'natabula ... medicabula' at 16 p.23 22; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I p.218. Here Apuleius uses the word, like 'decipula' below, with an objective genitive.

18 p.36 10 decipula. A word ascribed by Fronto (p.13 Naber) to the neoteric poet Laeuius (c.100 B.C.): *praestigiae nullae tam uersatae, nulla, ut Laeuius, decipula tam insidiosa*. See note on 10 p.16 1 'luminis eius discipula' (em. 'decipula' Scriuerius).

18 p.36 11 ingeniatus ad astutiam. Cf. Plaut. Ail. 731 *lepidè ingeniatus*; Gellius XII 1 17 (*corpus et animus*) *bene ingeniatis primordiis incohatum*; for the ~~information~~, cf. 'cordatus', 'moratus', 'dentatus', etc.

18 p.36 13 nolle quod pepererat. Sc. *nolle facere*. The use of 'nolle' without dependent infinitive is unusual, but the sense is clear and the addition of dare, as tentatively suggested by Burmannus ("An add. dare?"), would spoil the balance of the sentence. sed ... frustrari nostrum.

sed ('but instead') is opposed to the course of action implied in 'nolle': i.e. not to carry out his part of the bargain but to cheat his master.

18 p.36 14 diutuleque. See note at 2 p.1 15 on 'decorum adulescentem et diutule tacentem'. nec agere uelle nec reddere. The MSS have nec a se re uelle (uellere φ). Brantius' agere is certainly right; cf. 'agendi' at line 8 above. Gellius V 10 7 writes at this point in his version of the story 'causas tamen non reciperet'. Van der Vliet expands to nec causas agere uelle nec reddere mercedem, but this is hardly necessary.

18 p.36 15 usque dum ... prouocauit. For 'usque dum' cf. Cato Agr. 110 saepius facito, usque dum odorem malum dempseris. 'dum' with the perfect indicative is, however, rare and found only, as here, with 'usque' or 'adeo usque', according to Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.615, cf. Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.379. eum ad iudices prouocauit. The normal expression is 'in ius uocare'. Apuleius' use of 'prouocare' seems to be a contamination of its two meanings, 'challenge' (transitive) and 'appeal' (intransitive), the latter being the usual legal sense of the word ('prouocare ad populum'). The basic transitive meaning 'summon' is, however, also needed to maintain the equivalence with the standard phrase. Cf. 'prouocauit' at 7 p.8 8.

18 p.36 16 qua docendum receperat. Sc. eum. φ has cuā i docerdū, which Brantius would read as qua in docendū. This old form of the accusative of 'is' is found in the text of the Twelve Tables (ap. Iacrob. Sat. I 4 19) si nox furtum factum sit, si ir occisit, iure caesus esto. It is not a literary form, however, and Apuleius does not use it elsewhere. The intention of the scribe would be more fairly represented by quam in docendū receperat, but this correction of F is clearly unnecessary. For the gerundival construction with 'recipere', cf. Vitruv. X praef. 1

architectus, cum publicum opus curandum recipit, Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.731. 'eum' is easily supplied from the previous clause.

18 p.36 16 anceps argumentum ambifariam proposuit. Protagoras' argument is used by Gellius (X 5 1-3) to illustrate what he calls 'convertible arguments' (ἀντιστρέφοντα, 'reciproca'), i.e. the kind which can be turned round and used with equal force on the other side. Thus in the present case he tells us that the jury declined to reach a decision which, either way, would be self-contradictory, and instead postponed the case indefinitely. Similarly Sextus (Adv. Math. II 99) records that the judges were confused by the equal weight of the arguments and so chased Corax and his pupil out of court (with the comment, which afterwards became a proverb, 'a bad egg from a bad crow'). It would be possible, therefore, to take anceps (also biceps below) as referring to this kind of argument: 'two-headed' i.e. 'reversible', 'that can be used on both sides'. This reversibility is, however, indicated by retorsit at line 25 below, and it seems more likely that in the first sentence anceps goes closely with ambifariam to express the peculiar nature of the alternative offered: 'heads I win, tails you lose'. Thus the phrase as a whole would mean 'he propounded a dilemma'. For 'ambifariam' cf. Apol. 4 (of Zeno the Eleatic) qui primus omnium ... sollertissimo artificio ambifariam dissoluerit. (For Zeno's use of dilemma see Kirk and Raven, The Presocratic Philosophers p.288). Apuleius also has 'omnifariam' at 7 p.9 8 and 'multifariam' at 15 p.19 19.

18 p.36 17 siue ego ui/n/cero ... decebis ... seu tu uiceris ... detabis. For 'siue ... siue (seu)' each with separate apodosis, cf. Cic. Trsc. I 42 siue (animi) dissipantur, procul a terris id euenit, siue permanent ... necesse est ferantur ad caelum; Virg. Aen. XI 443-4. ut conseruatus ... ut p'c'us. For ut (causal), see Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.452; cf. 7 p.8 9 'ut strenuus ... ut meritus ... ut melior', with note ad loc.

18 p.36 20 hanc causam primam penes iudices uicoris. For 'causam uincere' see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.277; cf. 'iudicium uincere' at Cic. Verr. 2 I 139. penes iudices. Apuleius uses 'penes' as equivalent to 'apud', cf. 'penes iudices' at p.37 1 below and 'penes Graios' at p.37 11. See Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.528, where instances from Tertullian are also cited. si uincis, in condicionem incidisti, si uinceris, in damnationem. The anticipatory use of the present and perfect tenses here is colloquial; cf. Cic. Att. V 15 1 si prorogatur, actum est. For 'incidere in' = 'be caught by', 'come up against', cf. Cic. Leg. III 25 nostra autem causa, quae ... incidit in tribuniciam potestatem; Ps.-Quintilian Declam. 263 (Ritter p.74 25) ergo de lege dubitari nihil potest; uideamus, an hic in legem inciderit.

18 p.36 22 quid quaeris? The phrase is common in familiar discourse, e.g. Cic. Att. XIV 1 1 quid quaeris? perisse omnia dicebat; Fam. III 1 2, etc. As an interjection, it is indifferent to number; cf. 'agedum' (Livy XXXVIII 47 11 mittite agedum legatos).

18 p.36 22 ratio conclusa ... inuincibiliter uidebatur. Cicero uses 'rationem concludere' for summing up an argument or proof in a concise or definitive form: N.D. II 22, Div. II 25, cf. Fin. I 22. Hence the meaning includes both the statement of the proof and the conclusion to be drawn from it. inuincibiliter is Apuleian and found here only^{in Apuleius} 'uincibilia' occurs, apparently in an active sense, at Apol. 35 (fin.) cum haec ab illis quasi graua et uincibilia dicerentur. Gudendorp emends to 'inuincibilia'.

18 p.36 23 eniuere. Adversative, as at 3 p.5 11, 9 p.11 11, 16 p.33 10. utpote ... perfectissimus discipulus. In the Augustan period 'utpote', like 'quippe', is used in participial constructions (see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I

pp.791-2) and occasionally with adjectives, e.g. Hor. A.P. 206 utpote parvus. Apuleius uses it freely, not only with participles, but also with nouns, adjectives and prepositional phrases: e.g. Metam. V 31 utpote in coetu turbulento; V 18 utpote simplex et animi tenella; V 24 utpote adulescentem delicatum luxuriosumque; IX 26 utpote intercepta cena; X 28 utpote tam immania detectura flagitia; Apol. 53 utpote promus librorum; De deo Socr. 19 utpote uir adprime perfectus. However, as Becker Studia Apuleiana p.10 remarks, he does not use 'utpote' with the relative, although he has 'ut' and 'quippe' in this construction.

18 p.36 24 biceps illud argumentum retorsit. See note on 'anceps argumentum ambifariam proposuit' at line 16 above. 'nam si ita est', inquit. Vallette follows P. Thomas (Rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belgique LIII 1910 p.147) in placing the quotation mark after nam. However, cf. 'nam siue ego uicero' at line 17 above. For the quasi-adversative force of 'nam', see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.506 ('nam si' = 'si autem').

18 p.36 27 si hanc primam causam fuero penes iudices uictus. See note on 'hanc causam primam penes iudices uiceris' at line 20 above. For the use of the accusative with the passive, cf. $\delta\iota\kappa\eta\nu\ \eta\tau\tau\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (Plat. Leg. 880 c), and Gell. XVII 21 9 uictos esse ... pugnam illam inclutem. fuero ... uictus. For this form of the future perfect passive, see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I pp.166-7; cf. Plaut. len. 471-2 non hercle is sum qui sum, ni hanc iniuriam / meque ultus pulchre fuero.

18 p.37 2 si uinco<r>, conficio, si uinco/r7, sententia. The transposition of uinco and uincor is now rejected by Felm, who proposes in his addenda p.51 that sententia should be placed after liberat. His original text, however, gives a better rhythm and more effective word order. A note in the Valpy edition of Oudendorp suggests si uinco, sententia, si uincor, conditio. There seems little to choose between these two readings.

18 p.37 3 haec sophistarum argumenta. Apuleius clearly intends the arguments to be taken as typical sophistries, and the connection of the tale with the law-courts gives plausibility to this; cf. W. & M. Kneale, The Development of Logic p.14. However, the dilemma presented to the jury most closely resembles the paradoxes invented by the Megarian Euboulides (Diog. Laert. II 108; W. & M. Kneale op.cit. p.114), especially the famous 'Liar', stated by Cicero Acad. II 96 in the form: 'if a man says he is lying and he is speaking the truth, then he is lying'; cf. Div. II 11, Gell. XVIII 2 10. Gellius represents these puzzles as suitable for after-dinner entertainment; cf. note on 'griphos' at 9 p.13 19. They form part, however, of a serious logical tradition, which the Stoics inherited from the Megarians, and to which Apuleius, as a Platonist and Aristotelian, would have been fundamentally opposed. (For their reappearance in the Middle Ages in the category of 'insolubilia', see W. & M. Kneale, op.cit. p.227 ff.).

18 p.37 4 uice spinarum, quae uentus conuoluerit. As Vallette notes, the simile is derived from Homer Od. V 328 f., where Odysseus' raft, tossed this way and that in the storm, is compared to a ball of thistle-stalks blown by the North wind:

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ὄπωρινδος βορέης φορέησιν ἀκάνθας
 ἄμ πεδίον, πυκινὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται...

See Stanford's commentary ad loc. Apuleius uses the comparison very aptly to illustrate the interlocking of the opposed 'spiky' arguments. Cf. the figurative use of 'spinae' for the minutiae of Stoic logic: Cicero Fin. IV 79 Panaetius nec acerbiter sententiarum nec disserendi spinas probauit; ibid. 6 hominum nec spinas uellentium, ut Stoici; Tusc. IV 9 spinas partiendi et definiendi. conuoluerit. ~~The subjunctive is hard~~

~~to explain, except possibly as an imitation of the Homeric use of the subjunctive in similes.~~

18 p.37 5 penetratione. Apuleian. p.37 6 mercis ... tam senticosa. The unpaid fee acquires the character of the dispute to which it led. Cf. Afranius (ap. Fest. p.399 Müller) quam senticosa uerba retorquet turba.

18 p.37 8 multo tanta praestat. This idiomatic 'tanta' (or 'tanto') is found mainly in Plautus and the archaizers, either with 'multo' in a comparative expression, or with a numeral adverb or similar word. In Apuleius, cf. Metam. VII 15 multo tanta pluribus beneficiis; X 21 multo tanta impensius cura; De deo Socr. 11 multo tanta subtilior; Apol. 42 multo tanta uanius et nequius; Apol. 3 multo tanta ex animo laborat (Leo ALL XII p.100 wishes to add 'magis'); Apol. 89 dimidio tanta, Aemiliane, mentiris. In Plautus, cf. Pud. 521 ego multo tanta miserior quam tu, Labrax; Stich. 339 multo tanta plus quam speras; Men. 800 multo tanta illum accusabo quam te accusavi amplius; Men. 680 ego redimam bis tanta pluris pallam quam uoles. In a number of these examples 'tanto' is a variant preferred by some editors (e.g. by Marx and Sonnenschein at Pud. 521). Cf. Cicero Verr. 2 III 225 quinquens tanto ... amplius (where the Vatican palimpsest has 'tanta'). Gellius XII 2 14 multoque tanto magis, si ... Louis Havet, ALL XI p.579, interprets 'tanta' as an ablative with ellipse of 'pecunia'. Lüfstedt, Syntactica I p.288 f., suggests neuter plural. See also Leo, ALL XII p.99 ff., who points to the alternation between 'intra' and 'intro'. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.136 finds 'tanta' well-attested, but unacceptable. It seems hard to explain 'tanta', but equally hard to reject it.

18 p.37 8 cum Thalen memorant suasisse. Van der Vliet substitutes Thali ... suffecisse, without really improving the sense. Probably suasisse is in contrast with Protagoras' unsuccessful attempt at coercion. But it is not impossible that Apuleius also has in mind 'suasisse nobis', i.e. in contrast with 'uersutis et auaris relinquenda est', both types of 'merces' being viewed as moral examples. For the accusative Thalen cf. Cic. Or. III 137, Div. II 58. Apuleius has Thali (dative) at p.38 5.

18 p.37 10 sapientiae memoratis. Elsewhere Apuleius has 'memoratus' with the ablative: De deo Socr. 17 peritia memoratus; cf. Apol. 81 si qui ... fuerunt dolo memorandi. Hence Oudendorp reads sapientia here. The genitive may, however, be explained on the analogy of its use with 'notus' and other words of similar meaning: Sil. Ital. XVII 148 notus fugarum (of Hasdrubal); Statius Theb. II 274 noti operum; cf. Prop. I 16 2, Hor. Carm. II 2 6, IV 13 21; Tac. Ann. IV 34 eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus; Sil. Ital. V 77 egregius linguae; Vell. Patere. I 12 3 ingenii ac studiorum eminentissimus. Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.443 ff.

18 p.37 11 facile praecipuus. The view that Thales was the wisest of the Seven Sages is also found in Callimachus Iambi (fr. 191 Pfeiffer, DK A3a), which tells the story of the gold cup of the Arcadian Bathycles which his son was charged to present to the wisest man living (for the different versions of this tale see Diog. Laert. I 28 ff). Apuleius clearly bases Thales' claim on the widely accepted notion of his scientific eminence. ^{For} ~~the~~ the development of the myth. of Thales' advanced mathematical and scientific knowledge, see D. R. Dicks, 'Thales', in CJ IX 1959 p.299 ff. See also Kirk and Raven, The Pre-socratic Philosophers p.74 ff.; Guthrie, A History of Greek Philosophy I pp.45 ff.

13 p.37 11 enim geometriae penes Graecos primus repertor. For initial enim see note on 'enim non pigebit' at 9 p.12 19. For penes Graecos see note on 'penes iudices' at p.36 20 above. Thales was believed to have introduced geometry into Greece from Egypt (Proclus in Eucl. 65 3 on the authority of Eudemus). For theorems attributed to him see T. L. Heath, A History of Greek Mathematics I p.130; Guthrie p.53. naturae rerum certissimus explorator. This is certainly an overstatement. Apart from the story that he predicted an eclipse (Herodotus I 74), and his identification of the primary substance with water (Aristotle Met. 983 b 20 ff.), very little can be substantiated about Thales as a man of science. astrorum peritissimus contemplator. Thales is supposed to have identified the stars which form the Little Bear (Callimachus loc. cit.), and to have measured the period of the solstices (again on the authority of Eudemus; see Kirk and Raven p.79 ff.). Plato's tale that he fell into a well while observing the stars (Theaet. 174 a) illustrates the popular idea of him as a dedicated astronomer.

18 p.37 13 maximas res paruis lineis repperit. I.e. by using diagrams, The inference is that Thales used his geometrical knowledge to make his scientific discoveries, as, for instance, he calculated the height of the pyramids by measuring their shadows (Kirk and Raven p.81).

13 p.37 14 temporum ambitus. Apuleius' list of 'discoveries' contains some items which might plausibly be attributed to any proficient astronomer, and some traditionally connected with Thales, such as the 'solis annua reuerticula' at line 16 below. For the 'cycle of the times', cf. De Mundo 22 eun^{ti}bus sole atque luna ceteraque luce siderea per easdem vias custoditis temporum vicibus ... digeruntur tempora et rursus incipiunt. 'tempora' may also be used in the narrower sense of 'seasons', cf. De Platone I 10 anni uero spatia concludi, cum sol quadrinas temporum contigerit uices et ad idem signum fuerit inuectus.

18 p.37 14 uentorum flatus. If Thales had an interest in winds, it perhaps arose from his practical concern with navigation (witnessed by his 'discovery' of the Little Bear, Guthrie p.51, Kirk and Raven p.62). He is traditionally the author of the theory that the flooding of the Nile was due to the Etesian Winds (Herod. II 20, Kirk and Raven p.77). His successors attributed most meteorological phenomena, and possibly the movement of the heavenly bodies, to winds caused by the evaporation of moisture (Kirk and Raven pp.138-9 and 155).

18 p.37 15 stellarum meatus. No attempt at systematic explanation of the planetary motions was in fact made before Eudoxus of Cnidus (c.403-355 B.C.); see Ross's note on Aristotle Met. 1074 a 14. tonitruum sonora miracula. According to Thales' successors, Anaximander and Anaximenes, the noise of thunder is caused by wind bursting out of clouds (Kirk and Raven pp. 138 and 158, Guthrie p.139).

18 p.37 15 siderum obliqua curricula. The discovery of the obliquity of the Zodiac was attributed by Eudemus to Cinopides of Chios in the fifth century (DK I pp.393-4, Kirk and Raven p.80). Pliny N.H. II 31 ascribes it to Anaximander, Aetius II 12 2 to Pythagoras (DK loc.cit.). Oudendorp's ful urum changes the reference to the slanting path of the lightning; cf. Lucan I 154 obliqua perstringens lumina flamma. It is not clear from Felm's note (app.crit.) whether he takes siderum to mean the planets or the constellations of the Zodiac; the latter seems more probable. At De mundo 2 Apuleius describes the Zodiac as 'circulus ... signifer obliqua complexione circumdatus et signis XII illuminatus'.

18 p.37 16 solis annua reuerticula. Cf. Aet. III 11 lusus iste, quem ... ne annua reuerticula solle mniter celebramus (i.e. 'every year'). The

word is Apuleian and occurs in these two places only. In the present instance, the most obvious reference is to the 'turning back' of the sun from both tropics in its yearly cycle, the calculation of which Eudemus expressly attributed to Thales (DK A17, Kirk and Raven p.80). The analogy of the other example, however, might suggest the yearly 'return' of the sun to the same relative position on the ecliptic, for instance at the summer solstice. This would similarly involve measurement of the solar year, and though less applicable to Thales might be a more natural way for Apuleius to express himself.

18 p.37 16 lunae uel nascentis incrementa uel senescentis dispendia.

The true explanation of the moon's phases and eclipses was not known until Anaxagoras made the discovery that the moon shines with light from the sun (Plato Crat. 409 a). See Heath, Aristarchus of Samos p.78 ff. This discovery, which Eudemus incorrectly ascribed to Anaximenes, was also attributed to Thales (Aetius II 28 5; Heath op.cit. p.19). For dispendia ('losses'), cf. the similar thought of Hor. Carm. IV 7 13 *damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae. delinquentis obstacula.* The noun 'deliquium' = 'eclipse' (Pliny N.H. II 54) is explained as a calque on Greek ἐκλειψις by Ernout-Millet p.361 s.v. 'linquo'; cf. Ceisau in Indogermanische Forschungen XXXVI 1916 p.75.¹ The verb 'delinquere' is not found elsewhere in this sense, but Servius on Virg. Aen. IV 390 gives two examples of its use in early Latin as a general synonym of 'deficere'. obstacula. Vallette retains 1.33 obstiticula, which is defended by H. Armini (Eranos XXVI p.333) as an Apuleian coinage from *obstituere, which, though not attested, can be assumed on the analogy of 'instituo', 'constituo', etc. Anaxagoras and others held that the moon is sometimes eclipsed by bodies other than the earth (Heath op.cit. p.80). Thales

¹ Cf. Paul Fest p 73 *deliquium solis a delinquendo dictum, quod delinquat in cursu suo*

could not have known the cause either of solar or lunar eclipses, since in his system the earth floats on water and the heavenly bodies between setting and rising do not pass under the earth but laterally round it.

18 p.37 18 diuina ratione de sole commentus est. The verb is used without the implication of falsity which it often carries in the earlier period, e.g. Cic. N.D. II 59 Epicurus monogrammos deos et nihil agentes commentus est. The 'calculation', which Apuleius says he has personally verified, is that of the diameter of the sun in relation to its orbit (see note on 'quoties ... metiatur' at line 20 below). Diogenes Laertius I 24 records that, according to some authorities, Thales was the first to give the size of the sun as $1/720$ of the solar circle. For a discussion of this ratio and the methods by which it may have been obtained, see A. Wasserstein in JHS LXXV 1955 pp.114-16.

18 p.37 20 experiundo comprobaui. Apuleius may have used the water-clock method described by Cleomedes (an astronomer of uncertain date, later than Posidonius but earlier than Ptolemy) II 75 (p.136 Ziegler): the observer notes the quantity of water which flows through the clock in the time taken by the rising sun to clear the line of the horizon, and compares it with the quantity needed to maintain the flow for a whole day and night. The result, according to Cleomedes, is $1/750$. It should be noted that, since the length of the sun's daily orbit is variable, the experiment would have to be carried out at the equinox, when the sun's path coincides with the line of the equator. Macrobius records a less accurate result obtained from a sun-clock (see Wasserstein loc.cit. p.114). For Apuleius' interest in scientific experiments, cf. apol. 36 ff.; Introduction pp.32, 41-2.

18 p.37 21 quoties ... circulum quem permeat retjatur. By 'circle', Apuleius probably means what is now called a 'great' circle, i.e. either the ecliptic, through which the sun passes in a year, or the equator, which coincides with its daily revolution at the equinox. He gives no indication of the result which he supposes Thales to have obtained, and which he personally confirmed. As Heath points out, if Thales did perform this calculation, he could not have stated it in this form, since for him the sun did not describe a complete circle (Aristarchus of Samos p.22, cf. Kirk and Raven pp.81-82). It seems certain that the figure of 1/720 given by Diogenes Laertius depends on measurements made by Aristarchus, not by Thales; see Heath op.cit. p.23 and p.353 note 4.

18 p.37 22 recens. See note under 'recitabat partem fabulae, quam recens fecerat' at 16 p.24 20. landrolytum Priene/n/ersen. Vallette retains the MSS reading Mandraytum. Crusius (Philol. XVII 1890 p.677) bases his suggestion Mandrolytum on Ps.-Plutarch Prov. Alex. 72, where the name 'Mandres son of Landrolytus' occurs, apparently as the importer of some luxury item from Magnesia to Ephesus. Diels Vorsokratiker I p.41 (app. crit.) also refers to O. Kern Inscriptionen von Magnesia am Maeander (Berlin 1900) p.14 no.17 32 Λανδρολύτου δόμος δῶριος. Priene, at the mouth of the Meander, was famous for Bias, another of the Seven, and so might be expected to produce an eager pupil for Thales.

18 p.37 24 impendio delectatus. The intensive adverb 'impendio' is found in early colloquial Latin with a comparative: e.g. Plaut. Aul. 18 minu' minusque impendio curare; Ter. Eun. 587 impedio magis animu' gaudebat mihi; cf. Cic. Att. X 4 9 at ille impendio nunc magis odit senatum; Gell. AVIII 12 2 impendio uenustius gratiusque. Apuleius uses it with verbs only,

as equivalent to 'impense': e.g. Metan. X 4 impendio suadet; Apol. 3 impendio commoueantur; De Cro Socr. 20 impendio mirari.

18 p.27 25 optare iussit, quantam uellet mercedem ... rependi. The rare use of optare with a dependent question is on the analogy of 'eligere': cf. Cic. Pep. I 55 ut in comparando difficile ad eligendum sit, quid maxime uelis. pro tanto documento. See note on 'quae mentium documenta' at 15 p.22 5.

18 p.38 1 Thales sapiens. Floridus places after 'inquit', Krüger deletes, but Schoene (Rhein. Mus. LIV 1899 p.623 ff.) refers to numerous Greek instances where the parenthesis is similarly divided (e.g. Plat. Symp. 175 e), as well as imitations in Latin, e.g. Cic. Brut. 204 o magnam, inquit, artem! Brutus, si quidem istis, etc. Helm (Philol. Suppl. IX p.516 f.) argues that the repetition of the name makes it clearer which of the two is the speaker; cf. note on 'contra Apollinem ... quod Apollo ...' at 3 p.4 15, where Krüger similarly deletes the second mention of Apollo. One might add that the repetition of 'sapiens' (cf. p.36 1) also has point here, since the words illustrate his wisdom.

18 p.38 1 si id quod a me didicisti ... tibi <non> adsciueris. This claim to copyright by Thales is mentioned also by Julian, Orat. III 162 2 (Hertlein), quoted by Diels, Vorsokratiker I p.79. non is added as a marginal correction in φ , and in some later MSS.

18 p.38 4 prorsum. See note at 9 p.13 15. nam et. See Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.482, and cf. Metan. III 11 (p.60 4), etc. in hodiernum ac dein semper ... persoluetur. The verb is future by 'syllepsis'. For dein ('deinde') of future time, cf. Cic. Cl. Fr. III 8 2 eas quas ad te deinde litteras mitteremus; Quintus Curtius V 25 17 quidquid deinde fors tulerit.

qui eius caelestia studia uera cognouimus. The reference here is probably quite general: 'we who have truly studied his art, astronomy'. Van der Vliet's uera for uere (sc. 'uera esse') assumes verification of specific studies supposed to have been made by Thales.

18 p.38 8 hanc ero uobis mercedem. Apuleius returns to his previous theme (p.35 24), praise of Carthage and the acknowledgment of his debt as 'alumnus'. The passage is transitional, leading to the subject of religion and the hymn to Aesculapius which he is proposing to recite.

18 p.38 10 ubique enim ... ueneror. The effect is heightened by anaphora, the repetition of 'ubique' being followed by the emphatic 'uestras... uestras ... uestros'. omnimodis laudibus. Cf. the adverb 'omnimodis' at 4 p.5 14. The adjective is Apuleian; cf. Metam. V 25 uoculas omnimodas; Apol. 50 omnimodis maculationibus; Apol. 75 omnimodis conlurchinationibus. uestras disciplinas studiosius percolo. 'It is your learning (i.e. subjects begun here with you) that I am sedulously pursuing'; cf. 'secta ... hic incohata est' at p.35 15. See note on 'sapientiam percolunt' at 6 p.7 10. studiosius ... gloriosius ... religiosius. For the use of the comparative in a sense virtually indistinguishable from the positive, frequent in late Latin, see Kühner-Stegmann¹/II p.476; cf. Gellius V 14 22 accuratiusque ... siccaui. ueneror. Kronenberg suggests uenero for the sake of balance. The active form of the verb appears in Plautus (Pecch. 173, Truc. 476), and Apuleius uses the passive in a passive sense at Metam. XI 2 ueneraris delubris Ephesi; cf. IV 11 ducis uigore uenerato. He uses the deponent form, however ('ueneretus sum') at lines 19-20 below, and elsewhere.

18 p.38 14 principium ... ab Aesculapio deo capiam. The thought seems to be based on the literary convention of 'beginning with the god', especially

the Muses, Zeus or Apollo (cf. Homer Od. VIII 499, Hesiod Theog. 36, Theognis I 1, Pindar Nem. 2 1-3, etc.). See Conington's note on Virgil Ecl. 3 60 ab Ioue principium Musae, and Gow's note on Theocritus 17 1, both modelled on the famous opening of Aratus' Phaenomena ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμεσθα. Aesculapius, as the chief deity of Carthage (= the Phoenician god, Esmun), naturally has priority for a Carthaginian audience. apud uestras auris auspicatissimum. For this use of apud cf. Quintilian X 1 32 qua nihil apud aures uacuas atque eruditas potest esse perfectius. For auspicatissimum cf. Tacitus Germ. 11 agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt.

18 p.38 15 qui arcem nostrae Karthaginis ... /s̄/t/r̄/egit. The temple of Aesculapius was on the Carthaginian citadel or Byrsa; see Audollent, Carthage romaine p.400 ff.; Bouchier, Life and Letters in Roman Africa p. 78. Oudendorp reads uostrae for nostrae, but the latter follows naturally from Apuleius' claim to be the city's adopted son, and he does not seem to use the form 'uoster' elsewhere. tegit is Krüger's correction of MSS strepit. Vallette has respicit (the reading of the Editio Princeps); other suggestions include regit (Grosclatius) and saepit (Wiman, reported by Haupt, Opuscula III p. 326 f.).

18 p.36 16 eius dei hymnum. Before Apuleius, 'hymnus' as a Latin word is attested only in a fragment of Seneca (Thes. Ling. Lat. VII 3 p.143 82). Apuleius uses it here in a Greek context, as at 20 p.41 6 Socrates hymnos; cf. De mundo 29 ut in choris cum dux /carmini/ hymno praecinit; ibid. 35 ciuitatem ... resonantem hymnis et carminibus et canticis. In Ernout-Meillet (p.302) the word is mentioned as a Greek borrowing, frequent in the language of the Church. Graeco et Latino carmine. See Introduction p. 35-6.

18 p.38 17 uobis etiam canam /iam/ illi a me dedicatum. The text as it stands was proposed by Leo; Helm now accepts van der Vliet's ecce for MSS haec, and transposing iam reads uobis ecce iam canam illi a me dedicatum (addenda p.51). The analogy with Anol. 55 'ecce etiam liber offertur' is, however, misleading, since the book in question (containing Apuleius' speech in honour of Aesculapius delivered at Oea three years before) is offered spontaneously by a member of the audience; hence a slight air of surprise is not unsuitable. Scioppius' hic is perhaps the simplest correction. Opinion is divided whether iam may be allowed to stand in its original position in the MSS; Krueger wishes to delete but van der Vliet strengthens by adding pridem. dedicatum probably means no more than 'composed in his honour', though Apuleius may have intended the hymn for ritual use (see introductory note).

18 p.38 18 non ignotus illi sacricola nec recens cultor nec ingratus antistes. See note on 'sacerdotii suscepti' at 16 p.29 10. Butler and Owen (commentary on the Anologia p.113) suggest that Apuleius' speech at Oea (referred to in the previous note) 'de Aesculapii maiestate' may have been a thanksgiving for his recovery from illness there (Apol. 55, cf. 72-3). For the possibility that the hymn and dialogue here mentioned have a similar purpose, following Apuleius' recovery from the accident described in Fl. 16, see Introduction p.24.

18 p.38 19 prorsa et uorsa facundia. Apuleius seems to have coined the adjective uorsa ('in verse') as a counterpart to prorsa ('in prose'); hence the archaizing uorsa for 'uersa' and prorsa for 'prosa' are both retained. Cf. Pliny N.F. 112 prorsam orationem. The contamination with the noun 'uorsus' is obvious, but it might also have been assumed that if 'straight on' can mean 'prose', then 'turned' can mean 'verse'; for the original meaning of 'uorsus' see Ernout-Millet p.725 s.v. 'u rto'.

18 p.38 21 cui dialogum ... praetexui. The dialogue has been 'composed as a preface' to the hymn, although if 'iam ... dedicatum' at line 17 above is to be pressed, the hymn may have been written first. sermocinabuntur. The MSS reading is sermocinabantur; Krueger emends to sermocinantur (as Helm says, 'fortasse recte'). The future is, however, consistent with atticissabit (p.39 11), which is a necessary correction of MSS atticissauit. 'sermocinari' is the Latin equivalent of διαλέγεσθαι, cf. Quintilian IX 2 31 sermones hominum adsimulatos dicere διαλόγους malunt, quod Latinorum quidam dixerunt sermocinationem.

18 p.38 22 Sabidius Seuerus. Scriverius' correction of MSS Safidius is clearly unnecessary in the light of CIL VIII 4028 (from Lambaesis in Numidia) SAFIDIO IULIANO ET SAFIDIAE VICTORIAE. I. Kajanto, The Latin Cognomina (Helsinki 1965) p.154, notes both Sabidianus (CIL III 8352 and VI 32939) and Safidianus (CIL VIII 18084 56) as cognomina derived from gentile names. Nothing is known of Severus apart from this passage.

18 p.38 22 Iulius Persius. See note on 'Persianas aquas' at 16 p.23 21. In his addenda p.51 Helm reverts to the MSS spelling Perseus, which also agrees with the inscription referred to in the note under 'Persianas aquas'. Helm similarly changes to Perseo at p.39 7; one may assume that Perseus at p.39 10 is correct only by a previous error.

18 p.38 23 uiri et inter se mutuo et uobis et utilitatibus publicis merito amicissimi. As Müller saw (Rhein. Mus. XXII p.646) the sense of et utilitatibus publicis merito amicissimi is dubious as it stands; it can be accepted, in my opinion, only if merito is taken to mean 'ob meritum'. Müller's suggested reading ex utilitatibus publicis avoids this difficulty and makes excellent sense. The objection that the three items dependent on amicissimi are thus reduced to two does not seem to be valid, since the

presence of the two adverbs mutuo and merito suggests a division into two rather than three phrases. Apuleius' fondness for the tricolon should not blind us to the fact that he often prefers variety of structure, and the two clauses which follow balance one another rather than the preceding sentence.

18 p.38 25 paribus. Becichemus suggests pares, presumably to balance the other nominatives, but the variety of construction is clearly intentional. incertum ... an ... an. For the comparative with an in disjunctive questions see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.546. For the integration of incertum into the appositional structure of the sentence, cf. Gellius XVIII 4 4 (quoting from Sallust's Histories) at Cn. Lentulus patriciae gentis, collega eius, ... perincertum stolidior an uanior. Tac. Ann. VI 50 Tiberius, incertum an offensus tantoque magis iram premens.

18 p.39 1 in hoc unum certamen est. The Thes. Ling. Lat. III p.888 75 takes in hoc unum together, citing this as a unique example of 'certamen' with 'in' and the accusative of the goal. It would be possible, however, to take unum with certamen and hoc as ablative.

18 p.39 3 summis medullitus uiribus. 'medullitus' (ante- and post-classical) is normally used of strong feeling or emotion, e.g. Plaut. Most. 243 uideas eam medullitus me amare; Apul. Metam. VII 2 medullitus ingemebam; X 25 medullitus dolore commotus. Here its use is presumably influenced by 'diligat' in the previous sentence.

18 p.39 4 et uobis auditu gratissimum, mihi compositu congruentem et dedicatu/r̄/ religiosum/mo/. The MSS have composite and dedicatur religio summo; the text as we have it was restored by Lipsius, who also inserted et before mihi. Vallette accepts et together with Kronenberg's deo before dedicatu, reading et mihi compositu congruentem et deo dedicatu religiosum.

The addition of 'the god' as a third interested party along with 'you' and 'me' seems hardly appropriate, however, and the attempt to achieve a tricolon here is misplaced. Apuleius infers that his audience too will be pleased to hear a conversation between two such well-known and well-loved public figures (et uobis = 'to you also'), but for himself two further aspects are involved, the philosophical character of the piece and its religious purpose. The main antithesis is thus between uobis and mihi, and the last two predicates both refer to activities of Apuleius. The supines compositu and dedicatu are not, like auditu, among those in common use in this construction (cf. 13 p.18 8 et auditu uenerabilis et intellectu utilis); see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I pp.724-5.

18 p.39 6 facio. Lipsius' correction of MSS ratio is certain. The verb is common in Cicero and elsewhere in the sense of 'represent'. qui mihi Athenis condidicerunt. Apuleius here uses condidicerunt in the unusual sense of 'condiscipuli fuerunt'; the verb normally means 'learn thoroughly'. The dative mihi is considered by Geisau (Indogermanische Forschungen XXXVI 1916 p.97) to be a Graecism; he compares the use of the dative with 'commori' at Seneca Ep. 77 13, etc.

18 p.39 7 quae ego pridie in templo Aesculapii disseruerim. See note on 'curiam uel bybliotheam' at p.34 21 above, and Introduction p.36. The device whereby a dialogue opens with a reference to a discourse of the previous day is reminiscent of Plato's Timaeus, though the request for a report is perhaps nearer to the Symposium. Apuleius' dialogue is, however, firmly set in the contemporary scene, and though the speech referred to could be fictitious, it seems more probable that it is one he actually delivered not long before, the day after which is made the dramatic date of the dialogue.

18 p.39 8 paulatimque illis Severum adiungo. paulatim here appears to be contrasted with in principio libri and to mean 'a little further on' or 'in a little while'. This meaning, though rare, is not unparalleled: cf. De Mundo 6 (fin.) (in a geographical description) deinde paulatim Scythicum et Hiberum freta et rursum mare; Juvenal II 83 f. nemo fuit repente turpissimus. accipiet te / paulatim qui longa domi redimicula sumunt / frontibus etc. The thought seems to be of a gradual progression in the course of which something occurs; hence Butler translates 'as the dialogue proceeds', and Vallette 'au cours de la conversation'. Apuleius may also be suggesting that Severus is brought into the conversation gradually, i.e. by taking at first a minor role, though he is to be the chief speaker in Latin.

18 p.39 9 cui interim Romanae linguae partes dedi. 'To whom, for the time being, I have assigned the role of Latin speaker'. As Apuleius goes on to explain, Perseus might very well have taken the Latin part, though 'to-day' (i.e. in the dialogue) he will be the Greek speaker. For this meaning of interim, suggesting an arrangement that is temporary or provisional only, cf. 15 p.20 20 quod interim canticum uidetur ore tereti ... eliquare; De deo locr. 4 habetis interim bina animalia ('you have so far two kinds of living creature'); Apol. 79 (fin.) concedo interim ('for the moment').

18 p.39 9 nam et. Cf. 'nam et' at p.38 5 above, with note ad loc. quousque et ipse optine possit. Sc. Latine sermocinari. Although Perseus may have been known to the audience primarily as a Greek speaker, Apuleius is careful to justify his choice of Severus for the Latin part without casting aspersions on Perseus' ability to speak Latin. He does not in the same way suggest that Severus might equally well have spoken in Greek.

18 p.39 ll atticissabit. See note on 'patrissaret' at 3 p.4 4.

The future is a necessary correction of MSS atticissauit. Apuleius' use of this verb probably indicates that in Greek he followed the Atticising tendency of his day, in preference to the contemporary koine. Cf. De deo Socr. prol. 5 satis oratio nostra atticissauerit.

FLORIDA 19

Fl. 19 tells how the doctor Asclepiades saved a man, taken for dead, from the funeral pyre. There is no indication of context and in spite of the interest of the story the passage resembles Fl. 12 in being less carefully finished than most of the Florida. Examples of this roughness are the repetition of 'diligentissime animaduertere' (p.39 16, p.40 5); of 'ingens ... ingenti' (p.39 19; cf. 'ciuitatem ... ciuitatis' (p.39 17-18); 'habebant ... non habebant' (p.40 13); the ambiguity of 'locatum' (p.39 19) and 'fatum attulit' (p.40 2); difficulties such as 'obsoletissimos uestitu' (p.39 21), 'paene paratum' and 'enim' (p.40 4-5), which may or may not be due to textual corruption. Among other slight inelegancies are the asyndeton in the first line (where Oudendorp adds 'et'), and the repetition of the disjunctive '-ne ... an' in assigning alternative motives at p.39 21-2, p.40 12-13. We may conclude that Fl. 19 was not in fact delivered as it now stands; it is a sketch or model passage, intended for use as occasion demanded, after revision and possibly further elaboration.

Although raising the dead is the traditional doctor's miracle, Apuleius puts the story on a firm rational basis, which reflects credit both on the art of medicine and on Asclepiades as a practitioner. One wonders, however, how many other cases there may have been of undue haste in calling in the undertaker: cf. Martial X 97.

dum leuis argura struitur Libitina papyro,
dum murram et casias flebilis uxor emit,
iam scrobe, iam lecto, iam pollinctore parato,
heredem scripsit me Numa: conualuit.

For the ancient doctor it was probably more important to be able to predict death ~~rather~~ ^{to} confirm it; cf. Tac. Ann. VI 50, where a noted physician predicts from his pulse that Tiberius cannot live longer than two days, but after his apparent death he revives, whereupon

he is smothered. Celsus II 6 13, after listing signs of imminent death, addresses himself to the question: *si certa futurae mortis indicia sunt, quomodo interdum deserti a medicis conualescant? quosdamque fama prodiderit in ipsis funeribus conualuisse.* He adds that, according to Democritus, there are no certain signs even that life has ended, let alone that death is approaching. Celsus considers, however, that in most cases of a mistake the practitioner rather than the art is at fault; the experienced doctor will not be deceived, and he cites the present case: *quod Asclepiades funeri obuius intellexit uiuere qui efferebatur.* The incident is also mentioned by Pliny N.H. VII 124.

19 p.39 12 Asclepiades ille. Asclepiades of Prusa practised medicine in Rome probably towards the end of the second century B.C. Pliny N.H. XXVI 12 assigns him to the time of Pompey, but Cicero Or. I 62 (dramatic date 91 B.C.) makes Crassus speak of him as if he were either dead or no longer practising: *neque uero Asclepiades, is quo nos medico amicoque usi sumus tum cum eloquentia uincebat ceteros medicos, in eo ipso, quod ornate dicebat, medicinae facultate utebatur, non eloquentiae* (see Wilkin's note ad loc.). According to Pliny (loc. cit.) he began life as a teacher of rhetoric, but changed to medicine from motives of financial gain. For an estimate of his importance in the history of medicine, see J. Scarborough, Roman Medicine (Thames & Hudson 1969) pp.38 ff., and T. C. Allbutt, Greek Medicine in Rome (1929) pp.177 ff. Asclepiades seems to have had a great vogue in Rome, partly owing to his persuasive eloquence, and partly owing to the practical common-sense with which he applied an Epicurean rationalism to the Greek medical theories of his day. According to Celsus, he taught that the cause of disease is the blocking of invisible passages by tiny bodies

(proem. 16), and that it is the doctor's function to cure safely, quickly and pleasantly (III 4 1). His follower Themison was claimed as the founder of the 'methodist' school of medicine (Celsus proem. 54 ff.).

19 p.39 13 ceteris princeps. For the dative, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.113 f.; Ennius Ann. 67 (Vahlen³) fluuius qui est omnibus princeps. Cf. 'prior omnibus ... nulli secundus' at 9 p.11 26.

19 p.39 13 primus etiam uino repperit aegris opitulari. Both Pliny (N.H. XXVI 14) and Celsus (III 14 1-2) attribute the invention of this treatment to Cleophrantus, from whom Asclepiades derived a number of his ideas. The latter wrote a book on the subject, however, and acquired the title οἰνοδότης (Pliny N.H. XXIII 31-2; Anon. London. XXIV 31). According to Pliny (ibid. 38), Asclepiades declared that the usefulness of wine can barely be equalled by the power of the gods: Asclepiades utilitatem uini aequari uix deorum potentia posse pronuntiauit. opitulari. The infinitive with 'reperio' is found also at Apol. 33 (fin.) and Pliny N.H. X 52. Cf. the infinitive with 'imuenio' at Tibullus I 8 25 and Pliny N.H. XXXVII 79. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.347.

19 p.39 14 sed dando scilicet in tempore. Cf. Pliny N.H. XXVI 14 uina promittendo aegris dandoque tempestiue. Asclepiades seems to have prescribed food and wine, or wine alone, rather than medicine for patients suffering from fever, but only when the main attack had subsided: Celsus III 14 2 ff., cf. Scribonius Largus prol. 25 (Helmreich) ille enim febricantibus ... negauit medicamenta danda: quia cibo uinoque apte ante dum dato remediari tutius existimauit.

Caelius Aurelianus Acut. Morb. I 109 (Drabkin) uinum iubet febricantibus dari, sed adiecta discretione ... etenim opportunitatem temporis fieri magis ab artifice posse quam sua sponte aut deorum mutū uenire. sed dando. For the use of 'sed' to limit or correct a previous statement, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.487, Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.77.

Aalto, Untersuchungen über des lateinische Gerundium und Gerundivum p.156 cites dando as an example of the gerund in the same case as a noun but constructed separately with the verb, i.e. as helping to explain such anomalies as 'uocis hominis exercendi' at 17 p.32 5 above. cuius rei observationem probe callebat. Asclepiades' success seems to have been at least partly the result of meticulous attention to the individual patient.

19 p.39 15 ut qui ... animadueteret. The MSS have animadueterat; but the subjunctive is normal with 'ut qui', cf. 5 p.5 1 ut qui sciatis; Apol. 48 ut qui scires (Kühner-Stegmann 2 II pp.293-4). If animadueteret is right, the tense implies that Asclepiades' skill in observing the right moment for administering wine depended on careful attention to the pulse at that time, i.e. the pulse of the sick patient. The pluperfect would suggest that his skill was the result of experience previously acquired.

19 p.39 6 uenarum pulsus. Strictly speaking the pulse belongs to the arteries, which the ancients believed were passages by which the breath ('spiritus', πνεῦμα) was circulated throughout the body, as opposed to the veins which carried blood: Cicero N.D. II 138, Celsus præm. 15, Pliny N.H. XI 219. Pliny tells us that Herophilus (c.300 B.C. at Alexandria) studied the pulse and set out its varying rhythms in metrical form; cf. Anon. Londin. XXIX 3-5, where it is stated that Herophilus

explained the pulse as due to the contraction and expansion of the arteries. In ordinary speech, however, the veins and arteries were not distinguished (Cic. Fat. 15, Celsus III 4 16 etc.), and 'uenarum pulsus' is the common phrase, e.g. Celsus III 19 1, Tac. Ann. VI 50, Quintil. VII 10 10, Pliny N.H. XXIX 6 (again speaking of Herophilus' work). Gellius XVIII 10 4 ff. tells the story of a Greek doctor who, while attending him personally, carelessly referred to the artery as a vein, whereupon a learned friend explained the difference between them: 'quod uenae quidem suapte ui immobiles sunt et sanguinis tantum demittendi gratia explorentur, arteriae autem motu atque pulsu suo habitum et modum febrium demonstrent; sed, ut uideo, peruulgate magis quam inscite locutus es; non enim te solum sed alios quoque itidem errantis audiui uenam pro arteria dicere.' Apuleius refers again to 'uenarum pulsus' at 23 p.43 25, cf. 'uenae pulsus' at Metam. X 2; he uses 'arteriae' only of the windpipe, at 17 p.32 3.

19 p.39 16 inconditos uel praeueros. Cf. 23 p.43 26 si quid illic turbatum atque inconditum offendit. praeueros is Scaliger's emendation of MSS praeclaros, which Oudendorp prefers to retain, interpreting 'qui bene discerni possunt, et certa stataque habent mementa', i.e. the steady pulse of a healthy person, as opposed to inconditos. The context seems to require, however, two words which, though alternatives, both describe the pulse of the sick patient (see note on 'ut qui ... animaduerneret' at line 15 above). Oudendorp holds that the meaning attributed to praeueros, 'very unsteady', 'very variable', is too close to that of inconditos to make a satisfactory antithesis; it may furthermore be doubted whether so odd a word is really acceptable here. Isidorus Orig. X 223 quotes Cicero 'quid est tam praeuarum?' inter-

preting 'ualde uarum', which gives little clue. The adjective 'uarus' ('knock-kneed', i.e. with legs bent out from the knees) is also applied to the hands or arms when held out for wrestling (Ovid Metam. IX 33, Martial VII 32 9, Statius Theb. VI 850), to the horns of a bull (Ovid Metam. XII 382, Am. I 3 24), and to what is possibly a forked support at Col. R.R. V 9 2. When used metaphorically, as by Horace Sat. II 3 and Persius 6 18, it seems to mean 'opposed' (of a pair) rather than simply 'different'. Stewechius suggested praecleres and Purser praetardos, both of which seem too specific. I have wondered whether a participle rather than an adjective is needed here to balance inconditos: perhaps praeclusos, if this could indicate a temporary, not a permanent stoppage ('hindered, interrupted').

19 p.39 17 in ciuitatem. Sc. in urbem. Apuleius regularly uses 'ciuitas' for 'town', especially in the Metamorphoses, e.g. IX 32 matutino me multis holeribus onustum proximam ciuitatem deducere consuerat dominus; VIII 13 per mediam ciuitatem ... proripit sese; cf. Ennius (Vahlen³ 349) et ciuitatem uideo Arginum incendere; Petron. Sat. 8 'cum errarem' inquit 'per totam ciuitatem'. Here the 'ciuitas' in question is probably Rome and the 'rus suburbannum' from which Asclepiades is returning a sign of his wealth and success; cf. Cic. Rosc. Am. 133; Ovid Ars Am. II 265 rure suburbano poteris tibi dicere missa (sc. rustica dona). A country place would no doubt be useful to a doctor for cultivating herbal remedies, though Asclepiades is said to have greatly reduced the use of 'medicamenta' (Celsus V 1 2).

19 p.39 18 in pomoeriis ciuitatis. I.e. outside the walls; no burials were allowed within the city. Cicero Leg. II 58 'hominem mortuum', inquit lex in duodecim, 'in urbe ne sepelito neue urito', credo uel

propter ignis periculum. In Asclepiades' day cremation rather than inhumation would have been the normal Roman practice: see J. M. C. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World (Thames & Hudson 1971) p.40.

19 p.39 19 funus ingens locatum. Brantius proposed collocatum ('set in position'), i.e. the funeral procession had already come to a halt. This would seem more to the point than locatum ('hired'), though Apuleius may be thinking of the large numbers of professional mourners and musicians which would indicate that the deceased was well-to-do. Colvius compares 'locus efferendum' at Plaut. Aul. 568, and Cicero Verr. 2 V 120 has 'funera locabantur' in an ironical sense, of bribes exacted for the privilege of burial. Apuleius has 'locare' in the sense of 'hire' at Apol. 3 and 59 (fin.), and in the sense of 'place' at Metam. IV 17, VII 9, De deo Soor. 2 and 3. He may therefore be using locatum here in the local sense required by Brantius.

19 p.39 20 exsequias uenerent. Cf. 'eius exsequias eundum' at 16 p.26 3, with note ad loc. obsoletissimos uestitu. Vossius proposed obsoletissimo, since normally this adjective is applied to the dress rather than the wearer; cf. Apol. 3 and 76, Cic. Leg. Agr. II 13; Livy XXVII 34 5. As Helm notes, Cicero uses 'obsoletus' of the person at Pis. 89, but apparently as a synonym of 'maerens' rather than literally.

19 p.39 21 utin(e) cognosceret ... an uero ut ... deprehenderet. utine is van der Vliet's correction of MSS ut in, following Oudendorp's utne. Apuleius here uses -ne ... an in place of 'sive ... sive' for 'either ... or'. Cf. below p.40 12 quodne .. an quod ... Apol. 51 nisi confestim eripias, malignone praesagio an naturali adpetentia

illico conuertuntur et deuorant; Apol. 72 fortene an fato ego aduenio pergens Alexandream. The use of 'an' alone in a general disjunctive sense occurs in Cicero and Livy (see Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.527) and is especially common in Tacitus: e.g. Ann. II 22 metu inuidiae an ratus ... II 42 sponte an fato; III 9 uitandae suspicionis an quia ... XVI 23 ut ... scelus obscuraretur, an ut magnitudinem imperatoriam ... ostentaret. The first alternative is sometimes introduced by 'siue', as at XI 26 siue fatali uacordia an ... ratus; XIV 59 seu taedio ambiguae spei, an amore coniugis; cf. Ovid Fast. III 773 ff. siue quod ... seu quia ... siue quod ... an quia. Apuleius' use of '-ne' to introduce the first alternative, though it would appear more logical, seems to be an innovation.

19 p.39 22 more ingenii (humani). F and φ have more ingenii (sc. sui), which Vallette retains without the addition of humani, i.e. Asclepiades' curiosity is characteristic of his own mind rather than human nature in general; Helm compares Metam. II 20 more tuae urbanitatis. There is nothing especially scientific, however, in wishing to know who the dead man was, and the addition of humani makes a better antithesis to the second motive ('ut ipse aliquid in illo ex arte deprehenderet'). Helm compares Sallust Jug. 93 3 more ingeni humani cupido difficilia faciundi animum adorta; Vegetius Renatus II 20 more humani ingenii, ut pro illis habeat maximam curam, in quibus suam uidet esse substantiam. Oudendorp compares Petronius Sat. III uitio mentis (gentis, Müller) humanae concupiit scire, quis aut quid faceret.

19 p.39 23 an uero ut. Colvius' uero uenit ut depends, according to

Oudendorp, on a misreading of the MSS (at for an, which appeared to be dittography after 'responderat'); he accordingly began a new sentence with uero. aliquid in illo ex arte deprehenderet. Wowerius' correction is necessary, although Vallette retains MSS reprehenderet; he translates, however ('faire ... quelque observation'), as if he read deprehenderet. ex arte: 'in accordance with his profession'. A note in the Valpy edition of Oudendorp interprets 'ex quo cognosceret an uiueret', but this is to anticipate the result. Asclepiades' initial interest was probably to discover the cause of death.

19 p.40 1 prope deposito. Cf. Metam. X 12 sepulchrum, quo corpus pueri depositum iacebat. Apuleius seems to be using 'depositus' in a general sense to mean 'buried' or 'laid to rest'. The word is more frequently used to refer to a sick person whose life is despaired of, apparently from an old custom of laying the dying upon the ground outside their houses: Servius on Virgil Aen. XII 395 ille, ut depositi proferret fata parentis (see Conington's note ad loc.). Hence 'prope depositus' normally means 'almost at death's door' (Cicero Verr. 2 I 5, Ovid Pont. II 2 45), a sense precluded here. Possibly Apuleius misunderstood the original meaning of the word.

19 p.40 2 fatum attulit. Oudendorp takes fatum as subject, understanding 'eum', which Helm in his app. crit. suggests should be supplied in the text. Kronenberg (Mnemosyne LVI 1928 p.49) and Thörnell (Eranos XXXIII 1934 p.153) understand fatum as object, with Asclepiades as the subject of the sentence, on the analogy of 'salutem afferre alicui'. Either of these interpretations seems possible: the second has the advantage of avoiding a change of subject; the first attaches what is perhaps a more normal meaning to fatum. For 'fatum' in a favourable sense, cf. Metam.

XI 1 fato ... spem salutis, licet tardam, subministrante; XI 12 et ecce praesentissimi muminis promissa nobis accedunt beneficia et fata salutemque ipsam meam gerens sacerdos appropinquat. Emendation does not seem necessary.

19 p.40 2 iam ... iam ... iam ... iam. The anaphora gives a sense of mounting excitement, as if Asclepiades' arrival was not a moment too soon. Cf. 'procul ... procul' at line 8 below. aromatis. Ablative plural (as at Metam. III 17 and XI 16); cf. 'toreumatis' at 7 p.9 3. Colvius compares Apol. 32 ut si tus et casiam et myrram ceterosque id genus odores funeri tantum emptos arbitreris.

19 p.40 3 pollinctum. The verb 'pollingere' is used of preparing a corpse for burial, cf. Plaut. Poen. 63 quia mi pollictor dixit, qui eum pollinxerat. See Kirchmann, De Funeribus Romanorum I 9 pp.66 ff. The word also occurs in a fragment of Apuleius' Hermagoras preserved by Fulgentius (see Index Apuleianus p.X): pollincto eius funere domuitionem paramus. The derivation is uncertain and the precise meaning probably variable: the Philoxenus glossary gives a number of Greek equivalents, including 'wrap' or 'lay out' a corpse, 'embalm' and 'bury'. Cf. Seneca Vit. Beat. 7 3 uoluptatem ... pallidam aut fucatam et medicamentis pollinctam (i.e. 'made up' like a corpse). Probably Apuleius is using the word here in a comprehensive sense, to indicate the finished work of the undertakers, as opposed to the next stage, the actual burning of the supposed corpse.

19 p.40 4 iam paene <rogum> paratum. F has paenae, which φ corrects to pene (= paene). Helm's addition of rogum provides an antithesis to 'eum' and makes sense of paene paratum, which, if applied to the 'corpse', would appear to be an understatement. The vulgate reading is cenae,

which gives a somewhat macabre sense unless, as Helm suggests, it is taken as genitive with paratum as acc. noun. However, a reference to the funeral feast would seem totally irrelevant here. P. Thomas (Rev. ^{de l'}instr. publ. en Belgique LIII 1910, p.147) argues that Helm's rogum is also irrelevant, as a doctor would not detect signs of life by studying the funeral pyre. He prefers van der Vliet's iam pyrae paratum (iam <igni> paene paratum, Novak). Kronenberg's poenae (Mnemosyne LVI 1928 pp.45-9) is purely fanciful.

19 p.40 4 contemplatus enim. It is hard to accept enim, either as causal with contemplatus (so Helm and Vallette), or as adversative with what follows, as suggested by Hey (ALL XIV p.272), who compares Apol. 42 nec ultra isti quidem progredi mendacio ausi; enim fabula ut impleretur, addendum etiam illud fuit, puerum eundem multa praesagio praedixisse. For 'enim' with adversative sense in late Latin see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.508. No satisfactory alternative has, however, been proposed. Pithoeus and Lipsius conjectured quam, Colvius est, Scaliger eum, Oudendorp cum (removing 'et' before 'imuenit'), Krüger etiam. I have myself wondered whether enim conceals the second object of contemplatus, which Helm supplied before 'paratum'; I would tentatively suggest iam paene paratum contemplatus ignem. The relevance is that, if the pyre is soon to be lighted, there is clearly no time to be lost in examining the body.

19 p.40 5 animaduersis. An anonymous correction in Oudendorp of F's animaduersit (animaduertit φ).

19 p.40 8 procul ... faces abicerent, procul ignes amolirentur. For the repetition of two virtually synonymous phrases, cf. 18 p.35 9;

20 p.42 13. procul is used in a mixture of the literal and metaphorical senses: cf. Cic. Am. 89 assentatio uitiorum adiutrix procul amoueatur. abicerent is Stewechius' correction of MSS abigerent, which is retained by Oudendorp and Vallette. abigerent ('drive away') would imply a command, not to relinquish the torches themselves, but to prevent them from being applied by others; cf. Seneca Thyestes 79-80 quisquis immissas faces / semiustus abigis (where the reference is to the torches of the Furies).

amolirentur ... demolirentur. The repetition of the same verb compounded with two different prepositions is ^{sometimes used by Apuleius for stylistic effect} ~~unusual, and seems rather pointless here.~~ (see Bernhard, Der Stil des Apuleius pp 237 f and 301), but seems rather pointless here.

19 p.40 9 conam feralem a tumulo ad mensam referrent. For the importance of funerary meals in the Roman cult of the dead see Toynbee, op. cit. pp.50-51, 62 f. Apuleius is here referring to the 'silicernium', a feast held at the grave on the day of burial, in which the dead man was supposed to have his share. Asclepiades obviously means that the meal should be served at home to provide nourishment for the living. On the 'silicernium', cf. Nonius 48 5, who quotes Varro Meleagri (303): funus exequiatis laute ad sepulchrum antiquo more silicernium confecimus, etc.

19 p.40 10 partim ... partim. The adverb 'partim' here stands in place of a nominative subject to the infinitives. See note on 'perparuam partim' at 18 p.34 17.

19 p.40 12 propinquis etiam hominibus. Stewechius proposed omnibus for hominibus, possibly because the usual phrase is 'homo propinquus' (e.g. Cicero Quinct. 39 and 53), not 'propinquus homo'. However, the reversal of the normal order gives additional emphasis: 'though even persons who were his relatives showed reluctance'.

19 p.40 12 quidne ... habebant, an quod ... non habebant. See note on 'utine cognosceret ... an uero ut ... deprehenderet' at 19 p.39 21 above. Oudendorp, following Lipsius, reads auebant for the first habebant, partly to avoid the repetition, and partly because it seems too early for the relatives to have taken possession of the inheritance. Cf. Plat. II 16 (p.119 13 Thomas) auet, where the MSS read habet; Metam. VII 5 (p.158 3 Helm) hauete (MSS habete). But the repetition may be intentional; cf. 'non agat ... agat' at 23 p.43 18.

19 p.40 15 breuem mortuo dilationem. 'A brief reprieve': i.e. a brief postponement of the cremation ceremony, to give Asclepiades a chance to resuscitate him. Apuleius does not, presumably, mean that the man lived for only a short time afterwards. uispillonum manibus extortum. The word 'uispillo' ('undertaker') seems to be used in a derogatory sense, e.g. Suetonius Dom. XVII 3 (of Domitian) cadauer eius populari sandapila per uispillones exportatum. Cf. Martial I 31 and 47; Ernout-Meillet p.728. Floridus (reported by Elmenhorst) proposed exoratum, perhaps as a corollary to 'impetravit', but no change in the text is needed.

19 p.40 16 postliminio. 'Back again'. 'postliminium' is the right of a prisoner of war to reinstatement on return to his own country; hence the legal expression 'postliminio redire' (Cic. Top. 36-7, cf. Or. I 181, with Wilkins' note ad loc.). Apuleius uses 'postliminio redire' and 'postliminio' (sometimes with dependent genitive) in various figurative senses in the Metamorphoses: of a return to human shape (III 25 exibis asinum statimque in meum Lucium postliminio redibis); of a return from death to life (II 28 and X 12 postliminio mortis); of being awakened from sleep (IV 25 postliminio pressae quietis); of tears that break out afresh

(V 7 illae sedatae lacrimae postliminio redeunt); cf. I 25 postliminio me in forum ... reducens; IX 21 postliminio domum regressus. In the present instance the ideas of a return home and a return from the dead are combined. Cf. Norden, Apuleius von Maëdura und das römische Privatrecht pp.84-5, and Revue de l'université de Bruxelles XVI 1910-11 pp.477 f.

19 p.40 17 confestimque spiritum recreauit, confestim enimam ... prouocauit. For attempts to remove the asyndeton, see Helm's app. crit. The repetition of confestim suggests that, with Asclepiades' help, the man made a rapid recovery, though spiritum recreauit seems to imply that he had actually stopped breathing, or that his pulse had stopped (see note on 'uenarum pulsus' at p.39 16 above). in corporis latibulis delitescens. The 'life' ('anima') is dependent on the 'breath' ('spiritus' or πνεῦμα), but in this case, although the breathing had stopped, or appeared to have stopped, the life had not in fact departed, but was still lurking in the secret places of the body. For 'latibula' see note on 'natabula ... medicabula' at 16 p.23 22; cf. Metam. VIII 29 praedam absconditam latibulis aedium rati. quibusdam medicamentis prouocauit. The verb here has the literal meaning 'summon forth'. Asclepiades did not entirely dispense with the aid of medicines, although he strictly limited their use: Celsus V 1 2 horum autem usum ex magna parte Asclepiades non sine causa sustulit. Celsus quotes his recipe for ear trouble at VI 7 3.

FLORIDA 20

Fl. 20 returns to the subject of education, introduced by the novel metaphor of the 'mixing-bowls' of the Muses, whereof Apuleius himself has drunk more deeply than most when a student at Athens.

A link with the previous passage is possibly to be seen in the suggestion of a drinking party with which this fragment opens, in contrast with the medical use of wine mentioned at the beginning of Fl. 19. Apuleius goes on to speak of the range and variety of his own literary works as compared with those of other philosophers, in respect of which his good intentions deserve credit; he ends with a striking eulogy of Carthage as a centre of education and culture in African life and in the Roman world.

20 p.40 19 sapientis uiri ... dictum est. The saying does not appear elsewhere in the precise form given to it by Apuleius. The nearest approximation is a fragment of the Middle Comedy poet Eubulus (94 Kock), quoted by the Suda s.v. οἷνος and by Athenaeus II 36, where Dionysus speaks of ten bowls, the first three of which he mixes himself for the wise: the first of health, the second of love and pleasure, the third of sleep, after which the wise go home; then come wantonness, shouting, revelry, black eyes, the summoner, wrath, and finally (the tenth bowl) madness. The later stages of this sequence bear a resemblance to the famous 'ladder' of Epicharmus, which follows next in Athenaeus and the Suda (see note at 8 p.9 23 on 'nam ex innumeris hominibus ...').

Another comic fragment quoted by Athenaeus (loc. cit.) attributes to the doctor Mnesitheus the view that wine, in moderation and mixed, brings

cheerfulness, but in excess, wantonness; if mixed in equal quantities, it produces madness (or distress, *ἀνία*), and finally, if taken unmixed, enfeeblement of the body. Diogenes Laertius I 103 refers a similar saying to Anacharsis the Scythian: the vine bears three clusters, the first of pleasure, the second of intoxication, the third of disgust. For Anacharsis, see Herodotus IV 76; he appears in some lists of the Seven Sages (Diog. Laert. I 41), and was highly regarded by the Cynics; Plato Rep. 600a mentions him with Thales, and Aristotle E.N. 1176 b 33 approves his view that we should 'play' in order to 'be serious'. Athenaeus twice puts him in the context of a drinking party (X 437 fin. and 445), so that possibly he is the 'sapiens' alluded to here. But in attributing his saying to 'a wise man at table', Apuleius may be characterising it as a piece of popular wisdom rather than throwing light on its author.

20 p.40 19 super mensam. In this and similar phrases 'super' is said to be temporal: Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.573. Cf. 'super mensam' at Curtius VII 4 7, Manilius V 144; 'super cenam' at Pliny Ep. IV 22 6, III 5 11, Juvenal 15 14, Suetonius Vesp. 22; 'super uinum et epulas' at Curtius VIII 4 30. The reference is to the drinking and conversation which followed the main meal (Gellius XV 2 3, I 2 4, etc.), to which the present apothegm might be taken to apply.

20 p.40 19 'prima', inquit, 'creterra'. Cf. 'proposuit ... inquit' at 18 p.36 17. The feminine noun 'creterra' is a popular borrowing based on the acc. of *κρατήρ*, possibly through Etruscan (Ernout-Meillet p.147). The usual literary form seems to be 'cratera' (Cic. Verr. 2 IV 131 etc.), the third declension 'crater' being poetical. Naevius twice uses

'creterra' (Trag. 45 Ribbeck² and Pun. 12 Warmington), so that for Apuleius the word is probably an archaism. ad sitim pertinet, secunda ad hilaritatem. Seneca Ep. 83 17 states that it is enough for the wise man to slake his thirst, but if good cheer prolonged for the sake of another carries him on, he will nevertheless stop short of intoxication. tertia ad uoluptatem. Cf. Hor. Carm. III 18 6-7 *larga nec desunt Veneris sodali / uina craterae.*

20 p.40 21 quarta ad insaniam. Cf. Seneca Ep. 83 18 *nihil aliud esse ebrietatem quam uoluntariam insaniam.* In the Mnesitheus fragment (Athenaeus II 36) not only the quantity of wine but also its strength were represented as damaging, and this is implied by Apuleius' next sentence, where the bowl of the Muses is said to be the more beneficial '*quanto crebrior quantoque meracior*'. The drinking of unmixed wine was considered to be particularly dangerous: cf. Herod. VI 84, where the madness and death of Cleomenes of Sparta are attributed to this habit, which he learnt from the Scythians.

20 p.40 21 uerum enimuero. See note at 15 p.21 16 on '*uerum enimuero celebrior fama obtinet*'. Musarum creterra. The metaphor seems to be a new one, though Apuleius may have derived the idea from Plato Phileb. 61 b 11 ff., where Socrates, with a prayer to the gods, begins to blend the mixture of the good life, like wine-pourers mingling honey with water. The Muses are perhaps more often associated with draughts from nature's springs ('*integri fontes*'), e.g. Lucr. I 926 ff., Hor. Carm. I 26 6-9; but here they appear, not as the inspiration of poetry, but as the patronesses of learning.

20 p.40 22 uersa uice. '*Conversely*'; cf. *περί ἐρμηνείας*
 5 *particularis autem uersa uice uniuersalem suam ... infirmat.* The

phrase is Apuleian. propior ad animi sanitate. The preposition appears to be used under the influence of 'pertinere ad' above.

P. Thomas (Rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belgique XIII 1910 p.147) considers propior with ad to be intolerable, and prefers promptior, the reading of Φ .

20 p.40 24 litteratoris. 'litterator' is here used for a teacher who gives elementary instruction in reading and writing, as opposed to the more advanced 'grammaticus'. The terms were not always distinguished: Gellius XVIII 9 2-3 identifies the 'litterator' and the 'grammaticus', and contrasts him, as a teacher, with the 'litteras sciens' who is more deeply versed in the subject ('alter docens, doctus alter'). Suetonius Gramm. 4 identifies 'grammaticus' with 'litteratus', and states that 'litterator' was sometimes used with the same meaning as 'litteratus' and sometimes distinguished from it, as the Greeks distinguished $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ and $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$, the former being used in a derogatory sense for one less perfectly educated. Cf. Catullus 14 9 Sulla litterator, which Fordyce (ad loc.) interprets as 'an elementary schoolmaster'; but apart from the present instance, there is no evidence of the regular use of 'litterator' for a lower grade teacher. The genitive, like the ones which follow, is dependent on creterra. MSS litteratores (like rhetores p.41 1) no doubt arises from an attempt to supply an object.

20 p.40 24 rudimento excitat. rudimento is Goldbacher's emendation of F's ru ato (ruato Φ). Both MSS have eximit, which is retained by Thomas and Vallette. Colvius and Becichemus postulate an Apuleian word 'ruditas': ruditatem eximit (Becichemus), ruditate exuit (Colvius), both of which give satisfactory sense. rudimento eximit (Thomas and Vallette)

would presumably mean 'takes us (through and) out of the preliminary stage of education'; Thomas (Rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belgique LIII 1910 p.147) interprets the phrase as a periphrasis of 'erudire' ('dégrossir'). Helm's excitat seems to have little to recommend it.

20 p.41 1 doctrina instr/a/uit. instruit is a simpler correction of MSS instrauit than Hildebrand's insimulat. φ has doctrinam, again an attempt to supply an object. Bernhardt's suggestion (Grundriss der römischen Litteratur⁵ p.48 par. 76) doctrinam intimat is probably intended to balance Becichemus' 'ruditatem eximit'.

20 p.41 1 hactenus a plerisque potatur. See Introduction pp.33-34. A clearer break is made here than in Fl. 18 between the educational facilities at Carthage and the studies pursued by Apuleius at Athens. Cf. 18 p.35 14 et pueritia apud uos et magistri uos et secta, licet Athenis Atticis confirmata, tamen hic incohata est.

20 p.41 3 poeticae comptam. Leo's comptam is defended by H. Armini (Eranos XXVI pp.333-4) as an expression suitable to the 'mixing' of wine, on the basis of a reference by Löfstedt (Eranos X pp.15 f.) to Lucretius III 258-9 where 'mixta' and 'compta' appear together, and Arnobius IV 37 where the phrase 'comptu et permixtione' occurs. Lucretius' use of 'comptus' (cf. I 150, IV 27) does not, however, support this interpretation. Helm (addenda p.51) now rejects comptam and wishes to read commotam (suggested by van der Vliet in the app. crit. of his 1900 edition; the attribution to Wiman may arise from confusion in Helm's addenda at this point). Scioppius suggested conditam ('spiced' or 'seasoned'), an epithet used of wine by Pliny N.H. XIV 108; the verb 'condio' is used both of preserving and of flavouring wine (Col. R.R. XII 28 3, Pliny N.H. XIV 92, 102 and 124).

Van der Vliet and Vallette read commentam, which is nearest to the MSS and may be right. For other suggestions see Helm's app. crit.

20 p.41 3 limpidam ... dulcem ... austerulam. All three epithets are suitable to wine as well as to the nature of the study. Cf. Col. R.R. XII 28 3 (uinum) defaecatum quam limpidissimum in uasa ... pura transferto. Pliny uses 'austerus' of dry as opposed to sweet wine, N.H. XIV 64 and 85, cf. Celsus III 24 4. The diminutive 'austerulus' is found here only. dialecticae. Here used for logic, as at Cic. Acad. II 91, Quintil. I 10 37, etc. For the forbidding aspect but ultimate joys of logic, see Gellius XVI 8 15.

20 p.41 4 iam uero. For transitional 'iam' ('furthermore') see note on 17 p.31 22 'iam rector hostri animus'. Apuleius seems to be using iam uero here to mean 'finally'; for 'iam' in this sense, cf. Livy IX 19 9, Quintil. XII 1 45. uniuersae philosophiae inexplabilem scilicet ~~(et)~~ nectaream. The MSS have uniuersas, hence Wowerius read inexplabiles ... nectareas. Colvius' uniuersae involves less change and gives better sense. For 'uniuersa philosophia' cf. Cic. Tusc. II 3 and III 6, where it means 'philosophy in general' as opposed to particular schools; here it perhaps means 'philosophy as a whole' as opposed to its different branches. Colvius also supplied et before nectaream. Helm's suggestion that nectaream might be taken as a noun in apposition to uniuersas (sc. creterras) encounters the difficulty, first, that no noun is attested except as the name of a plant (Pliny N.H. XIV 108), and secondly, it would be hard to take inexplabilem with such a noun. Elsewhere in Apuleius the meaning is 'insatiable': Apol. 21 ad omne lucrum inexplabilis; Plat. II 16 inexplabili siti; Plat. II 4 haustus inexplabiles; Mund. prol.

inexplebili admiratione. As applied to creterram it seems to mean either 'such that it cannot be filled', i.e. 'infinite', 'inexhaustible', or, in a transferred sense, 'of which one can never have enough (or too much)'.

20 p.41 5 canit enim Empedocles ... The first three names and the last are clearly those of philosophers who, unlike Apuleius, specialised in one kind of literary composition. It is probable, however, that Apuleius regarded all six, including Epicharmus and Xenophon, as philosophers; it is otherwise hard to account for his selection. The tradition that Epicharmus was a philosopher arises partly from the fact that he was extensively forged: see Pickard-Cambridge, Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy (2nd ed. revised Webster) pp. 239 ff. Xenophon was regarded as one of the 'Socratici' on the strength of the Memorabilia and other works. It is noteworthy that all six are Greeks of the classical or early Hellenistic period. Empedocles carmina. Empedocles' two poems, On Nature and the Purifications, were the most famous of their kind and were probably regarded by Apuleius as prototypes, like the Platonic dialogues. Socrates hymnos. Plato Phaedo 60 d mentions a hymn to Apollo composed by Socrates in prison; Diog. Laert. II 42 quotes the first line of a paean which some ascribed to Socrates.

20 p.41 7 Epicharmus modos. Whatever Apuleius wrote here, he cannot have written modos, which is not the name of any literary genre, and if it be taken to imply 'lyrics', ~~it~~ is not applicable to Epicharmus, whose comedies do not appear to have included any lyrical element; on the question whether they had a chorus, see Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. pp. 279 f. H. Reich, Der Mimos (Berlin 1903) I p.412 suggests mimos, which would be a fair description of Epicharmus' type of comedy. Although Apuleius does not

himself claim to be a writer of comedies or mimes, he includes 'poemata ... apta ... socco' in the list of his own compositions at 9 p.13 18.

Mathieu (Revue Belge de Philologie et ^{et} Histoire VI 1927 pp.232-4) comments that it is difficult to see how a word as vague as modos could have replaced a word as well-known and specific as mimos, and so thinks that some rare word must have been lost here and replaced with an approximate synonym. In default of a better suggestion, however, mimos should be accepted. (Possibly mimos was glossed as comoedos, the latter part of which caught a scribe's eye when copying mimos).

20 p.41 7 Xenophon historias. Although he regards him as a philosopher, Apuleius classifies Xenophon as a writer of 'historia', under which he would probably include, in addition to the Hellenica and Anabasis, such moralising works as the Cyropaedia and Agésilas. Apuleius mentions 'historias varias rerum' among his own works at 9 p.13 19; see also note on 'consummare potius animam quam historiam' at 16 p.26 17. Priscian quotes from the Epitome Historiarum of Apuleius (Keil, Gramm. Lat. III p.482 and II p.250; see Index Apuleianus p.X).

20 p.41 7 Xeno/~~Crates~~ satiras. Xenocrates, who succeeded Speusippus as head of the Academy in 399 B.C., did not write anything resembling satire. Casaubon emended to Xenophanes sillos; for this title applied to the poems of Xenophanes see Guthrie, History of Greek Philosophy I p.365 f. Rohde (Rhein. Mus. XL 1885 pp.112-13) proposed Crates, which is a virtually certain correction, in view of a similar corruption in the MSS at Apol. 22 (Socrates for Crates), and the evident interest of Apuleius in Crates as a philosopher (cf. Fl. 14 and 22). Crates' poems (Diels, Frag. Poet. Philos. p.216 ff.) seem to have been nearer to parody than to satire, but

their jesting tone and the contribution of the Cynics generally to the development of satire would no doubt justify the ascription to him of 'satiras'. Cf. Diog. Laert. VI 85 ff., Demetrius On Style 170 and 259. Apuleius mentions 'satiras' as part of his own literary output at 9 p.13 19.

20 p.41 8 haec omnia nouemque Musas. I.e. not only the above mentioned literary genres but also the full range of learned subjects under the patronage of the Muses. pari studio. Cf. the similar claim at 9 p.13 22.

20 p.41 9 maiore scilicet uoluntate quam facultate ... quod omnibus bonis in rebus conatus in laude, effectus in casu est. Apuleius seems here to be combining two thoughts: (1) the popular sentiment that, in great enterprises, it is praiseworthy even to have tried; (2) the more philosophical idea that, in moral action, only the will or intention is a matter of praise or blame, since the realisation of the intention ('effectus') depends on external circumstances and so is a matter of chance. For the first thought, cf. Propertius II 10 5-6 quod si deficient uires, audacia certe / laus erit: in magnis et uoluisse sat est; Ovid Pont. III 4 79 ut desint uires, tamen est laudanda uoluntas; Tibullus III 7 7 est nobis uoluisse satis; Pliny N.H. praef. 15 itaque nobis etiam non assecutis uoluisse abunde pulchrum atque magnificum est. The importance for morality of the will rather than the external effect of an action was emphasised by the Stoics, cf. Cicero Fin. III 32 uerum ut haec non in posteris et in consequentibus sed in primis continuo peccata sunt, sic ea, quae proficiscuntur a uirtute, susceptione prima non perfectione recta sunt iudicanda. For the part which Apuleius assigns to chance, cf. Demosthenes Cor. 192 ff. The two phrases 'in laude' and 'in casu', though not exactly parallel, make an effective antithesis; cf.

Cic. Verr.I 51 cum populo Romano et in laude et in gratia esse; Par.

Sto. 52 incertas atque in casu positas possessiones habent; Tusc.

V 25 in casu atque fortuna.

20 p.41 12 etiam cogitata scelera, non perfecta adhuc uindicantur.

Cf. Seneca De Constantia 7 4 omnia scelera etiam ante effectum operis, quantum culpae satis est, perfecta sunt. The punishment of intended crime is illustrated by the story of the Spartan Glaucus, who consulted the Delphic^{oracle} on whether he should fraudulently retain money entrusted to him (Herodotus VI 86, also used as an example by Juvenal XIII 199 ff.); although he in fact returned the money he was nevertheless punished, his whole family being blotted out; Juvenal comments (208): *has patitur poenas peccandi sola uoluntas*. In Roman law, the importance of intention was recognised: under the Lex Cornelia, it was a capital offence merely to carry an offensive weapon for the purpose of committing murder or theft; Cicero Mil. 11 *dāt ipsa lex potestatem defendendi, quae non hominem occidi, sed esse cum telo hominis occidendi causa uetat*; Ulpian VII 1 *quaerat cum iudicibus ... de capite eius, qui cum telo ambulauerit hominis necandi furtive faciendi causa ...* Dig. 48 8 7 in lege Cornelia *dolus pro facto accipitur*. See C.A.H. IX p.879 f.; J. Furlanus, Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani (Florence 1940) II pp.245 and 544.

20 p.41 15 quae autem maior laus aut certior, quam Karthagini benedicere.

Apuleius uses the idea of 'praise' as a transition: his own literary efforts, and his good intentions, deserve praise, but there can be no greater or more assured source of praise than a eulogy of Carthage.

'benedicere' with the dative is common in the earlier period = 'speak well of' (of individuals); in the later ecclesiastical sense it is used

with the accusative (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.34); cf. the ps.-Apul. Asclepius 40 and 41 'benedicere deum'.

20 p.41 16 ubi tota ciuitas eruditissimi estis. This flattery seems rather in contrast with 'hactenus a plerisque potatur' at line 1 above, but Apuleius obviously does not mean that each and every citizen was as highly educated as himself; he means that taken as a whole the state exhibited a very high standard of erudition, as well as a praiseworthy interest in it: cf. 'tam multos eruditionis amicos' at 18 p.33 25.

penes quos. See note on 'penes iudices' at 18 p.36 20. pueri...
iuuenes... senes. Cf. the similar division into age-groups at 17 p.33 10 ff. We may note that only the children are said actually to 'learn', and 'omnem disciplinam' is used with suitable vagueness.

20 p.41 18 Karthago ... Karthago ... Karthago. As Bernhard remarks (Der Stil des Apuleius von Madaura p.292), the structure of this final sentence is a diminishing tricolon (5 words + 4 + 3), which is unusual and contrary to what is sometimes called the 'law of increasing members' (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II pp.722 ff.; W. S. Allen, Accent and Rhythm, Cambridge 1973, p.119). The effect is to slow the pace step by step and bring the passage to an impressive close. The repetition of the name 'Karthago' has a marked poetic effect; compare, in a very different context, the triple repetition of 'Eurydicen' at Virgil Georg. IV 525-7; cf. Statius Theb. XII 805-7, where 'Arcada' is repeated at the beginning of each line. Such repetition does not seem to be especially characteristic of eulogy, though it occurs also in the well-known Orphic hymn to Zeus (Kern 21a), imitated by Aeschylus fr. 70 (Nauck), and quoted by Apuleius at De Mundo 37. The name 'Issa' is repeated with

humorous effect at Martial I 109 1-5. (My supervisor has suggested to me that the nearest parallel to Apuleius is to be found in Frank Sinatra's song 'Chicago!!).

20 p.41 18 Africae Musa caelestis. This repeats in more poetic language the thought of the first phrase, 'prouinciae nostrae uenerabilis magistra'. It seems unlikely that any allusion is intended to the Carthaginian female deity Caelestis, whom the Romans identified with Juno; see Bouchier, Life and Letters in Roman Africa pp.75-7; Tertullian Apol. 24. Colvius, who thinks that Apuleius is identifying Carthage with this goddess, reads Africae Musa, Caelestis Carthago, but this disturbs the balance of the sentence in order to introduce an idea which seems quite irrelevant. Nor is Carthage being identified with any particular Muse (Urania, according to Oudendorp); she is called 'Muse of Africa' as the intellectual centre of the province, with 'caelestis' used as a complimentary epithet, like 'uenerabilis' in the previous phrase.

20 p.41 19 Camena togatorum. The effect of this final phrase is difficult to gauge. 'Ca⁷mena' is the Latin equivalent of 'Musa', though their use seems to be more often determined by metrical or other convenience than by any difference of meaning (cf. 'in Camenis' at 9 p.11 22). It is probable, however, that in using both the Greek and the Latin terms for 'Muse', Apuleius is intending to convey that Carthage is pre-eminent in a culture which includes both languages. It is also possible that in calling Carthage 'Africae Musa', Apuleius is thinking of her role in relation to the native population, whereas 'Camena togatorum' draws attention to the more Romanised aspects of the province, perhaps even looking outside it to the literary influence of Carthage on the rest of the Roman world.

FLORIDA 21

This passage deals, like Fl. 1, with the duty of the punctilious traveller to interrupt his journey, this time to pay his respects to a distinguished local personage. We are told that the obligation extends not merely to greeting the person encountered, but to walking with him and answering his questions, and that the time thus spent is gladly given, however urgent the journey. In the same way we were told in Fl. 1 that the conscientious traveller will not merely offer a prayer or a gift but also 'sit a little while' at the wayside shrine ('paulisper adsidere', 1 p.1 3). There is, however, a significant difference between the two passages: whereas in the first Apuleius himself is the traveller in a hurry ('quanquam oppido festinem', 1 p.1 4), in Fl. 21 the rider who interrupts his journey is being used as an illustration, either of some general principle or of some comparable situation. The context of the present passage cannot, therefore, be determined.

21 p.41 21 honestas moras. I.e. delays brought about by a sense of what is 'honestum', as opposed to 'necessaria festinatio'. The meaning 'honourable', 'creditable' probably predominates over 'courteous', 'polite', although both seem to be implied. Cf. 'religiosam moram' at 1 p.1 6.

21 p.41 22 saepe uti malis interpellatam uoluntatem. Helm interprets malis as verb: 'so that often you prefer your purpose to have been interrupted', which gives fairly good sense, except that saepe merely repeats interdum, whereas it would normally be a somewhat stronger expression. The meaning would then be similar to the final sentence of the passage (p.42 19) 'quantumuis morae in officio libenter insumunt'.

The alternative is to take malis as ablative plural and uti as comparative: 'just as often it involves a purpose interrupted by misfortunes', i.e. troubles of the journey, the 'moramenta' listed p.42 2-5. Colvius' in aliis ('in other cases') indicates that he understood the sentence as comparative.

21 p.41 22 quippe et illis, quibus curriculo confecta uia opus est. illis appears to be a case of inverse attraction to the relative which follows, since it is not picked up in the later part of the sentence, the subject of which is the unexpressed antecedent of 'qui uolunt deuitare' (p.42 6). See note on 'Alexandro illi ... eius igitur Alexandri' at 7 p.8 3. curriculo ('at a run', 'swiftly') is an adverb borrowed from comedy, e.g. Plaut. Most. 362, Ter. Heaut. 733. For 'opus est' with abl. perf. part. and noun, also common in comedy, see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.765; Plaut. Curc. 302 homine conuentost opus; Cato Agr. 38 2 cinere eruto opus erit; Sall. Cat. 31 7 perdita re publica opus esse.

21 p.42 2 pendere equo. An unusual phrase for riding horseback. For the meaning 'be poised upon', cf. Virg. Aen. I 106 hi summo in fluctu pendent; ibid. X 303 dorso cum pendet iniquo (of a ship on a sandbank); Ovid Pont. I 8 51 pendentis ... rupe capellas. carpento sedere. The ablative without preposition is common with 'sedere' in the post-Augustan period, cf. Livy I 34 8 ei carpento sedenti; Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.354. A 'carpentum' was a two-wheeled covered carriage for fast travel.

21 p.42 3 moras orbium et salabras or- bis for 'wheel' is

poetical, e.g. Virg. Georg. III 361; cf. 'rotarum orbes' at Lucr. VI 551, Pliny N.H. VIII 52. Apuleius uses the word here probably for the effect with orbitarum. 'orbitae' ('wheel-tracks') are possibly here 'roads' rather than 'ruts', although this sense of the word is usually metaphorical (cf. Virg. Georg. III 293). The state of most ancient roads was not adapted to fast travel; cf. Hor. Sat. I 5 6 minus est grauis Appia tardis; Martial IX 57 5 nec quae Flaminiam secant salebrae.

21 p.42 4 adde et lapidum globos et caudicum toros. Formalised expressions such as 'adde' are unchanged even when addressing a plural audience; cf. Livy XXVI 41 12 adde defectionem Italiae, and see note on 'quid quaeris?' at 18 p.36 22. lapidum globos: cf. Pliny N.H. XXXIV 36 globos lapidis. caudicum toros ('bulges of tree-trunks') are presumably trees projecting into the road, or lying fallen across it; Pliny N.H. XIX 60 and XXII 76 has 'puluinorum tori' of raised banks of soil bordering level plots in gardens. camporum riuos et collium cliuos. Antithesis and rhyme link the two phrases.

21 p.42 5 hisce igitur moramentis qui uolunt deuitare. igitur points to a resumption of the previous thought, but in a way that sums up rather than passes over the parenthesis and emphasises, not the original subject ('illis' p.41 22), but the key-word moramentis ('causes of delay'), which is an Apuleian coinage and found here only (cf. 'impedimenta'). 'deuitare' elsewhere takes the accusative, but as Helm points out, Apuleius has the dative with 'uitare' at Apol. 29 si uellem calumniis uestris uitare; cf. Plaut. Poen. 25 and Curc. 298 uitent infortunio. Emendation does not seem to be required.

21 p.42 6 uectorem. The MSS have victorem, though uectorem appears as a marginal correction in ϕ . Cf. Metam. I 20 illum uectorem meum; III 26 equum illum uectorem meum; Apol. 21, etc. Apart from instances in Apuleius the use of 'uector' = 'bearer' seems to be poetical, and Apuleius may have derived the word, as well as the quotation which follows, from Lucilius: cf. 476 (Marx) ipse ecus non formosus gradarius optimus uector. uiuacis pernicitatis. 'uiuax' here = 'lively', 'brisk' rather than 'long-lived', 'lasting', cf. Gellius V 2 4 regem uiuacissimo cursu retulit (of the dying Bucephalus). H. Armini (Eranos XXVI p.334) suggests uiatae on the basis of F's uiuacae and Lucretius' 'uiuata potestas' (III 409, 558 and 680), but this seems less likely. Van der Vliet compares Metam. VII 5 uirum magnanimae uiuacitatis. et ferre ualidum et ire rapidum. Cf. De deo Socr. 23 (among the points of a good horse) ut sit et ad speciem honestus et ad cursuram uegetus et ad uecturam ualidus; Apol. 21 si uirtutibus suis pollat, aequabilis uector et cursor pernix. For the infinitives, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II pp.350-51; cf. Pliny N.H. XVI 222 pondus sustinere ualidae; Hor. Carm. I 15 18 celerem sequi.

21 p.42 9 'qui campos collesque gradu perlabitur uno'. Lucilius 1278 Marx. Marx suggests, however, that the verse should be read after 476 (quoted in the previous note), a suggestion which was anticipated by Colvius and has been followed by Warmington, Remains of Old Latin III p.160. Colvius also refers to Lucilius 506-8 (Marx) (of a really fast horse) hunc milli passum qui uicerit atque duobus / Campanus sonipes succussor nullus sequetur / maiore in spatio ac diuersus uidebitur ire. Lucilius' keen interest in horses has often been noted; cf. C. Cichorius, Untersuchungen zu Lucilius (Berlin 1908) pp.34 ff.; W. Krenkel, Lucilius Satiren II (Leiden 1970) pp. 680 ff. gradu uno: 'at one level pace' (Warmington).

21 p.42 10 cum eo equo per uiam concito peruolant. Van der Vliet reads equo concito uiam peruolant; Rohde (Rhein. Mus. XL p.113) proposed perquam concito; the Index Apuleianus takes concito as an adverb, which is surely wrong. Apuleius regularly uses 'concitus' in place of 'citatus' in such phrases as 'cursu concito' (Metam. IV 2) and 'concito gradu' (no less than 5 times, Metam. IV 18, 21 and 22; V 31 and IX 40); cf. Phaedrus III 2 11 concito properat gradu. He also uses 'concitus' adverbially, e.g. Fl. 12 p.17 3 concitus ... praecipitat; Metem. III 28 (fin.) nos crebra tundentes per aua montium ducunt concitos. In the present instance the addition of per uiam gives the participle more verbal significance than it normally possesses ('hurried along', 'ridden at speed'), but there seems insufficient reason to alter the text.

21 p.42 11 ex principalibus uiris nobilem hominem. Koziol p.29 observes that only Apuleius uses 'principalis' as an epithet of persons. Cf. Metam. VIII 30 uir principalis; IV 26 adolescens inter suos principalis. nobilem: possibly 'well-known' rather than 'well-born', as often in Apuleius. bene consultum, bene cognitum. Purser (Hermathena XVI p.156) proposes boni consultum, on the ground that 'bene consultus' is not an expression applied elsewhere to persons. For 'boni consultus', cf. De deo Socr. 23 'at enim bonis artibus doctus et adprime est eruditus et, quantum licet homini, sapiens et boni consultus', where it appears to mean 'versed in good' or 'virtuous'; Cato ap. Gell. X 3 17 eane fieri bonis, bono genere natis, boni consultis? Stylistically, bene consultum is a better partner for bene cognitum; the meaning would presumably be 'much consulted' or 'wise in counsel', which also seems more appropriate.

21 p.42 12 quanquam oppido festinent. See note on 'quanquam oppido festinem' at 1 p.1 4.

21 p.42 13 releuant gradum. Becichemus' correction of MSS reuelant remains by far the best, in spite of the numerous other suggestions that have been made (see Helm's app. crit.). Though the verb is not elsewhere found with 'gradus', it gives a perfectly clear meaning, 'ease the pace'. Oudendorp somewhat oddly interprets as pulling up the horse so sharply that its forelegs are raised from the ground, but this would obviously stop the horse altogether and so be inconsistent with 'retardant equum' which follows. For 'releuare' in the sense of 'diminish', 'slacken', cf. the contrast with 'intendere' at Pliny Pan. 19 ut studium omnium laboremque et tamquam exactor intenderes et tamquam particeps sociusque releuares.

21 p.42 14 in pedes desiliunt. In Rome it was compulsory for a rider to dismount when he met certain magistrates; Helm compares Seneca Epist. 64 10 si consulem uidero aut praetorem, omnia quibus honor haberi honori solet faciam: equo desiliam, caput adaperiam, semita cedam. Gellius II 2 13 (quoting Claudius Quadrigarius) tells how the honour was demanded from Fabius Maximus by his son, who was consul: cf. Livy XXIV 44 10, Val. Max. II 2 4, Plut. Fab Max. 24. As described by Apuleius, the practice seems to have been a voluntary mark of respect paid by local custom to any prominent and respected citizen. Stopping to talk also implies a degree of familiarity between the two persons concerned which would be less likely if one of them was greatly superior in rank.

21 p.42 14 fruticem, quem ... gestant, eam uirgam. The repetition of a noun (or equivalent) with a demonstrative is common in Apuleius, whether or not a relative clause intervenes; cf. 11 p.16 17 flores ... ut eos flores; 15 p.23 1 uerbaque quae ... ea uerba; 17 p.33 20 ex plurimis quae ... ex his plurimis; 23 p.43 13-17 nauem ... eam nauem. Here uirgam,

as the ordinary word for a 'switch' used in riding or driving (Juvenal III 317, Lucan IV 683, Martial IX 22 14), is substituted for the less usual fruticem, after it has been explained by the intervening relative clause ('quem uerberando equo gestant'). 'frutex' suggests an improvised instrument, say of willow or broom, plucked from the nearest hedge.
uerberando equo: dative of purpose.

21 p.42 16 itaque expedita dextra adeunt ac salutant. itaque = 'et ita' (there are no examples of 'itaque' in the ordinary sense in the Florida). The use of the right hand rather than the left in greeting was obligatory in the ancient world, as it is now in most parts of West Africa, where the custom of using the right hand in all matters of social intercourse is strictly observed. For instance, to avoid any accidental breach of this rule, a left-handed person, who might inadvertently gesture with the left hand when speaking in public, is automatically disqualified from becoming chief, even if eminently suited to the office in other respects.

21 p.42 17 diut(ule) ille. According to Vallette, both F and ϕ read diutule, though F is barely legible at this point. ambulant diutule et fabulantur. The repetition of 'diutule' indicates that the time spent in walking and talking will be long enough to satisfy the interest of the questioner, not just the time the traveller feels he can spare. See note on 'diutule' at 2 p.1 15. It is not clear whether the situation involves strolling around, or continuing the journey for a while on foot in the other's company. 'fabulari' (mostly ante- and post-classical) is frequent in comedy as an ordinary verb of speaking; in the later period it usually means 'converse' (Gellius XIX 13 1, etc.).

21 p.42 18 denique quantumvis morae ... insumunt. 'denique' here is either 'in short', or in the late Latin sense 'accordingly'; cf. 14 p.18 11 denique in forum exilit; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.514. in officio. Elsewhere Apuleius has the dative with 'insumere': Metam. VII 7 totas noctes insumebat luctuoso desiderio; Plat. II 25 ut acceptam mercedem ... communibus epulis insumant. libenter. The passage ends, as it began, with the idea of 'honesta mora', and if Helm's interpretation of 'malis' is right, with the thought that the time bestowed on such a duty is given willingly; the word libenter may, therefore, have played some part in Apuleius' transition to his main theme.

FLORIDA 22

Fl. 22, like Fl. 14, is about the Cynic philosopher Crates. Apuleius begins with the respect and affection with which Crates was regarded at Athens, compares him to the Cynic hero Hercules, then goes back to his earlier days as a rich young nobleman of Thebes. The passage could, almost without showing the seam, be joined to the beginning of Fl. 14, and has been so transferred in the editions of Elmenhorst, Scriverius and Floridus; see introductory note to Fl. 14 and Introduction pp.16-17. Oudendorp, on the other hand, runs Fl. 22 and 23 together as a single passage.

22 p.42 20 Diogenis sectator. Diogenes of Sinope, the founder of the Cynic school, lived and taught at Athens, where Crates came to study philosophy as a young man (Diog. Laert. VI 20 ff., 85 ff.). sectator in the sense of 'disciple' is post-Augustan; cf. Apol. 31 Pythagoram ... Zoroastri sectatorem.

22 p.42 20 qui ut lar familiaris ... Athenis cultus est. Van der Vliet deleted qui, but a relative clause preceding a digression is common in Apuleius (see Introduction p.40). From 'nulla domus' to 'memoria extat' (p.43 5) is virtually a parenthesis, the main thread of the sentence being resumed at 'igitur'. lar familiaris. This seems to be an allusion to the tradition, found in Plutarch's Life of Crates by the emperor Julian (Or. VI 200b), that the Greeks wrote over the doors of their houses 'Welcome to Crates the Good Spirit' εἰσοδος Κράτητι ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι.¹ The ἀγαθὸς δαίμων was a tutelary household deity to whom a toast was drunk in unmixed wine after the main meal (Schol. Aristoph. Knights 85, Peace 300; see

¹ The statement in Julian is considered by some editors to be a gloss, but is likely even so to be derived from Plutarch's Life of Crates, to which reference has been made in the immediate context.

Nilsson, A History of Greek Religion, Oxford 2nd ed. 1949, p.124).

Apuleius clearly regards such veneration paid to a living man by his contemporaries as highly unusual; he himself identifies the Lar with a departed human spirit (De deo Socr. 15).

22 p.42 21 nulla domus unquam clausa erat. 'ei' should be either understood or supplied (see Helm app. crit.). The Greek sources record that Crates was given the name of Θυρεπανοίκτης because all doors were open to him: Plutarch G.Q. II 6 (Mor. 632) Κράτητα δὲ τὸν φιλοσόφον εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν εἰσιόντα μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης δεχομένων Θυρεπανοίκτην ἐκάλουν.

Diog. Laert. VI 86 ἐκάλειτο δὲ καὶ Θυρεπανοίκτης διὰ τὸ εἰς πᾶσαν εἰσιέναι οἰκίαν καὶ νοῦθετεῖν.

Cf. the Suda s.v. Κράτης (3). An alternative would be to take this clause with the next as qualified by 'quin ... interueniret' ('no house was closed ... but that Crates arrived opportunely'); see following note.

22 p.42 22 nec erat patris familias tam absconditum secretum, quin eo tempestive Crates interueniret. secretum ('privacy') is here either a private family matter, or, more probably, a private family conference, in which Crates nevertheless takes part. Cf. Pliny Ep. I 5 11 secretum petit ('he asked for a private interview'). The use of eo (adverb) with interueniret is unusual and suggests an opportune arrival on the scene as well as timely intervention to settle a problem. If the two clauses ('nulla domus ... secretum') were taken together, it would possibly be easier to explain eo as arising by a fusion of the two thoughts, entering the house and participating in its secrets. The dative is usual with 'interuenire', cf. De deo Socr. 5 nullus,

inquis, deus humanis rebus interuenit; ibid. 11 hinc est illa
Homeric Minerua, quae mediis coetibus Graium cohibendo Achilli
interuenit.

22 p.42 23 litium omnium ... inter propinquos disceptator atque
arbiter. Apuleius' description of Crates as settling family disputes
is remarkably similar to a claim made by Lucian for the Cynic
philosopher Demonax (a Cyprian who lived at Athens in the second
century A.D.), that he reconciled brothers and made peace between
wives and their husbands (Lucian Demonax 9). Lucian also states
(ibid. 63) that in his old age Demonax would enter any house unbidden
and eat and sleep there, and that its owners would think that some
ἀγαθὸς δαίμων had entered their house. It seems likely
that Lucian is drawing here on the tradition about Crates, which ^{probably}
~~is~~ ^{goes back to} ~~attested in~~ Plutarch (see note on 'lar familiaris' at line 20 above).
disceptator atque arbiter. The two words are used together at
Cic. Rep. V 3 and Fam. XIII 26 2.

22 p.42 25 quod Herculem ... memorant ... purgasse, similiter ... fuit.
Löfstedt, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der späteren Latinität p.16 f.,
defends the MSS reading quod against quomodo (Rohde, Rhein. Mus.
XL p.113) and qua (Hildebrand), comparing the form of the sentence
to CIL VI 27458 nulli uestrorum contingat talem dolorem experisci,
quod nos infelicissimi parentes experti sumus. For the use of quod
in comparisons, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.581; cf. Varro R.R.
I 31 4 similiter quod (= atque); Lucr. II 453 namque papaueris
haustus itemst facilis quod aquarum. In the present instance the
quod-clause seems to be a simple extension of quod = 'as to the fact
that'.

22 p.42 25 poetae memorant. For the Heracles myth and early poetic treatment of it, see Jebb's edition of Sophocles' Trachiniae, Introduction p.X ff. monstra illa immania hominum ac ferarum. For the defining genitives, cf. Virg. Aen. 285 uariarum monstra ferarum; VIII 698 omnigemumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis. The 'human' monsters are no doubt such victims as Cycnus, Geryon, Antaeus and Busiris, but Diodorus IV 17 5 states that Heracles made war on the whole race of wild beasts and lawless men, because of the attack made on him in his cradle by the serpents and his subjection to Eurystheus.

22 p.42 26 uirtute subegisse orbemque terrae purgasse. Cf. Apol. 22 (fin.) Hercules lustrator orbis, purgator ferarum, gentium domitor. The idea that Heracles' labours had the function of clearing the earth of monsters and so making it safe for human life is foreshadowed at Soph. Trach. 1012, 1061, Eur. Her. 20, 696-700, 851; cf. Diod. I 24 5 and IV 17 3. The moral aspect of his achievement is stressed in Prodicus' allegory of Heracles at the crossroads (Xen. Mem. II 1 21-24, Cic. Off. I 118, Dio Chrys. Or. I 62-84), where as a young man he is offered the choice between Pleasure and Virtue. As a symbolic figure, he was especially important for the Cynics and Stoics. Antisthenes, the forerunner of Cynicism, admired him for his endurance and wrote a book called after him (Diog. Laert. VI 2 and 16). The Stoics accepted him, with Ulysses, as a sage: Seneca De Constantia 2 1 hos enim Stoici nostri sapientes pronuntiauerunt, inuictos laboribus et contemptores uoluptatis et uictores omnium terrorum. Epictetus Diss. III 26 32 praises his obedience and endurance: 'ruler of land

and sea, purger of injustice and lawlessness, introducer of justice and holiness; and this he did naked and alone'. For Dio Chrysostom he is the educated ruler or 'king' (Or. I 61 ff.). At Apol. 22 Apuleius uses Heracles more directly as an example of the Cynic ideal; here in Fl. 22 he remains in the main the hero of legend, although there is a hint of the Cynic Heracles in the comparison which follows, especially in the word 'seminudus' (p.43 4, see note ad loc.). orbem terrae. For the singular 'terrae' cf. Cic. Sest. 66.

22 p.42 27 similiter aduersum iracundiam ... ceteraque animi humani monstra et flagitia. For the allegorical interpretation of Hercules' labours, see Zeller, Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics (translated O. R. Reichel, revised edition New York 1962) p.367 ff., who refers to the Stoic Cornutus and the Homeric allegorist Heraclitus (c.33). For the comparison of an individual philosopher to Hercules, cf. Lucian Vitarum Auctio 8, where the Cynic Diogenes is represented as comparing himself to Heracles in his campaign against pleasure and his purpose to 'cleanse' human life. familias purgauit. Again the significant verb 'purgare' (see previous note), and in the same specific context of the family.

22 p.43 4 seminudus et ipse et claua insignis. Apuleius cites Hercules as an example of poverty at Apol. 22 (fin.), where, in reverse, the 'baculum' is ascribed to Hercules as here the 'claua' to Crates: ipse denique Hercules inuictus ... paulo prius quam in caelum ob uirtutes ascitus est, neque una pelli uestitior neque uno baculo comitator. The comparison between the philosopher's τριβώνιον and Heracles' lion-skin is explicitly made by Lucian (Vit. Auct. 8), the staff or club (ῥόλον) being common to both. etiam Thebis oriundus. This transition takes us back to Crates' earlier days at Thebes. Hercules, though of Argive ancestry, was born at Thebes,

owing to the exile of Amphitryon.

22 p.43 5 igitur. Resumptive after the digression (see note on 'qui ut lar familiaris ...' at p.42 20). Rohde proposed is igitur (Rhein. Mus. XL p.113), for which Helm refers to 'eius igitur Alexandri' at 7 p.8 11. There are numerous such instances of igitur after a demonstrative (see Introduction p.40), but it will be noted that all or most of them involve the repetition of a name, sometimes also a change of construction. Here the sequence of thought is sufficiently clear without any addition. priusquam plane Crates factus. For the use of the name as a characterising predicate, cf. Virgil Ecl. 7 70 ex illo Corydon Corydon est tempore nobis. For the omission of 'est' cf. Sallust Jug. 79 4 postquam utrimque legiones ... fusae fugataeque; Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.421.

22 p.43 6 inter procures Thebanos. For this and the description which follows, cf. Apol. 22 Crates ... uir domi inter Thebanos procures diues et nobilis ... rem familiarem largam et uberem populo donauit, multis seruis a sese remotis solitatem delegit, arbores plurimas et frugiferas prae uno baculo spreuit, uillas ornatissimas una perula mutauit. lectum genus: sc. ei erat. Cf. Cic. Or. III 152 lectis atque illustribus (uerbis); Verr. 2 I 15 lectissimi uiri atque ornatissimi. famulitium. Ernout-Meillet p.215. The word is not attested before Apuleius but could be archaic: Paul. ex Fest. 77 9 famuletium dicebatur quod nunc seruitium. Cf. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I p.210, and for its use as a collective singularibid. II p.747. Cf. Metam. VIII 22 ex eodem famulitio; Apol. 17 famulitii paucitatem. Apuleius also has the collective 'famulitio' at Metam. II 2 and VI 8.

22 p.43 7 domus amplo ornata vestibulo. According to Gellius XVI 5 3 ff. the 'uestibulum' was originally the open space in front of the house-door, where callers stood before being admitted. Vitruvius VI 5 contrasts 'uestibula' with the private parts of a house, as places accessible to the general public, not needed on a large scale by persons of ordinary fortune, who do not have many visitors or require produce to be brought in from the country. Cicero Or. I 200 speaks of the crowded 'ianua et uestibulum' of the eminent jurist Q. Mucius Scaevola, and Juvenal 7 126 mentions chariots parked 'in uestibuli'. Whether or not Carthaginian houses were designed on the Roman model, Apuleius is clearly intending to convey the idea of wealth and importance to his audience. Greek houses seem to have been less pretentious, although some space must have been allowed between the front door and the street (cf. Plato Protag. 314 c 3 Symp. 175 a 8). There is a curious and probably irrelevant tradition that Alexander the Great once lodged in the house of Crates (Diog. Laert. VI 88).

22 p.42 8 bene uestitus, bene praediatus. For the repetition, cf. 21 p.42 12 bene consultum, bene cognitum. praediatus ('endowed with estates', 'wealthy') is an Apuleian coinage; cf. Martianus Capella I 46 in omnibus praediatus. Salmasius emended to praeditus, but the sense of this is defective.

22 p.42 9 ubi intellegit. For the historic present in a temporal clause, see Woodcock, A New Latin Syntax (London 1959) p.175; Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.116. nullum sibi in re familiari praesidium legatum. I.e. the patrimony bequeathed to him was no defence against the vicissitudes of life. omnia fluxa infirmaque esse. The view that wealth, like everything else, belongs to fortune is to be found in

Menander, Dysc. 801. Most philosophical schools agreed in regarding virtue as the only stable element in a world of change and uncertainty, but only the Cynics went to the extreme lengths of denying any value whatever to external possessions and totally rejecting them in consequence. The Peripatetics placed them in the class of 'instrumental' goods, and the Stoics, though assigning the supreme place to virtue, nevertheless included wealth and noble birth among things that are 'preferred'. The Cynics, on the other hand, equated poverty with freedom (cf. 'nudus et liber omnium' at 14 p.18 15), and in most cases practised what they preached.

22 p.42 ll quicquid sub caelo diuitiarum est, eas omnes. For the indicative in a relative clause in indirect speech containing a general definition or description, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.548. eas omnes follows according to sense, cf. Catullus 3 lugete ... quantumst hominum uenustiorum. ad bene uiuendum <nihil> quicquam esse. 'Are of no use at all for the good life'. Van der Vliet supplies nihil, Colvius non. Becichemus proposed nequicquam, but Apuleius does not elsewhere use nequicquam (or nequiquam) as a predicate. For 'nihil quicquam' cf. 18 p.34 28, 9 p.10 18. The sentence is unfinished, but it is clear that the thought must have continued in much the same way as at the beginning of Fl. 14, even if the two fragments are not in fact one passage.

FLORIDA 23

Fl. 23 contains what appear to be two illustrations of the theme which concluded Fl. 22, the uselessness of wealth. The first is a beautiful and sturdily built ship, which for all its fine tackle may lack a competent helmsman or run into a storm and be lost. The second is a sick man in a splendid house, who is visited by the doctor and finds that, in spite of his wealth, he is less well off than his own slaves, since he has to fast while they feast. Although there is an analogy between these two situations, they are not so close that the one could be taken as illustrating the other; rather, they are both examples of a common theme, which was presumably stated before the passage opens. The introductory 'sicuti' must therefore be thought of as applying also to the second episode, although in construction it is lost sight of as early as 'ut facile' (p.43 18).

Although Fl. 22 ended on the same note, it is not likely that Fl. 23 is part of the same passage, either as a whole (Oudendorp), or as far as 'comminuerint' (Wowerius). The last sentence of Fl. 22 is in any case incomplete as it stands, and a considerable lacuna would have to be postulated. Fl. 23, in spite of the superficial similarity of theme, is more popular than philosophical in tone, and shows no sign of a possible return to Crates.

23 p.43 13 sicuti nauem bonam ... eam nauem. For the repetition, see note on 'fruticem ... eam uirgam' at 21 p.42 14. The sentence begins as a comparative clause introduced by 'sicuti', but the construction is changed at line 18 below, where an exclamatory ut-clause is substituted as the apodosis of the condition. The extended

description is characteristic of a number of opening sentences in the Florida; see Introduction p.40.

23 p.43 13 fabre factam ... eleganter depictam. Cf. the description of a ritual ship at Metam. XI 16 nauem faberrime factam picturis miris Aegyptiorum circumsecus uariegatam. intrinsecus ... extrinsecus. The former is mainly ante- and post-classical. For the antithesis, cf. 6 p.7 2 eminus ... comminus; 2 p.2 18 laeuorsum ... dextrorsum.

23 p.43 15 insigni carchesio. Gk. καρχήσιον ('mast-head'). Cf. Metam. XI 16 malus insurgit pinus rotunda ... insigni carchesio conspicua; elsewhere ^{usually} in the plural, as at Lucan V 418 summi ... carchesia mali. The list of ship's parts, each preceded by the appropriate functional adjective, suggests practical efficiency as well as visual beauty, summed up in the final phrase: omnibus armamentis idoneis ad usum et honestis ad contemplationem. 'honestus' = 'beautiful' is mainly poetical; the second ad is clearly influenced by the first, though its use with 'honestus' is probably justified by the wide range of adjectives with which this preposition is found (see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.523). The ablatives (of description) here exemplify an early use of the instrumental case, to describe the fittings of an object, for which the dative is used in Mycenaean Greek in inventories of household effects, etc. (see L. R. Palmer, Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek, ^{Texts} Oxford 1963, p.58).

23 p.43 17 si aut gubernator non agat aut tempestas agat. Either alternative may lead to the loss of the ship, although both could be the case simultaneously. For 'si aut ... aut' (= 'si ... siue' in early Latin, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.670), cf. Cic. Or. 1 180 si enim aut mihi facere licuerit, quod iam diu cogito, aut

alius quispiam ... occuparit. For the repetition 'non agat' ... agat', cf. 'habebant ... non habebant' at 19 p.40 13 above. 'agere' = 'steer' at Hor. Ep. II 1 114 nauem agere ignarus nauis timet.

23,p.43 19 profunda hauserint. 'profundum' = 'sea' is more common in the singular; cf. Metam. IV 28 caeruleum profundum pelagi peperit. Here the plural is used to balance 'scopuli' and to give two similar verb endings. hauserint ... comminuerint. The perfect subjunctive is used in a 'perfective' sense, which, according to Handford (The Latin Subjunctive p.127), is very rare in apodoses: cf. Plaut. Rud. 978 si istuc ius sit quod memoras, piscatores perierint.

23 p.43 20 sed et medici. 'sed et' appears to be used here in a progressive rather than strongly adversative sense, to introduce a fresh subject; cf. ἀλλὰ καὶ (Denniston, The Greek Particles p.22). For this weakened 'sed' (= 'atque') see Kühner-Stegmann 2 II p.77; cf. 'sed etiam' or 'sed et' = 'and even' (where Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr understands an ellipse of 'non modo'): Metam. X 6 curiam, sed et plebem maerens inflammauerat; Cicero Q.F. I 1 44 tibi parum consuluisse sed etiam tuis inuidisse. cum intrauerint. Subjunctive of repeated action: Kühner-Stegmann 2 II pp.207-8. The use of the present and perfect subjunctive in this construction belongs to the post-classical period.

23 p.43 21 nemo eorum. In apposition to 'medici'; the verb of the quod-clause remains plural, though the main verb is singular.

23 p.43 21 tabulina perpulchra. The 'tabulinum' (or 'tablinum') is thought to have been originally a boarded verandah, used for dining purposes in summer: cf. Varro ap. Non. 83 16 ad focum hieme

ac frigoribus cenitabant, aestiuo tempore in loco propatulo; rure in chorte, in urbe in tabulino; quod maeniamum possumus intellegere tabulis fabricatum. Nonius must, however, be mistaken in identifying 'tabulinum' and 'maeniamum', which was an extension of the upper floor or 'balcony' (Vitruvius V 1 2, Cic. Acad. II 70). In the later Roman house, the 'tablinum' was a room or covered space leading out of the 'atrium' into the inner garden or 'peristylum' (Vitruvius VI 3 5-6; see Sandys, Companion to Latin Studies p.220,) and used mainly for reception; hence Vitruvius VI 5 1 mentions 'tabulina' along with 'uestibula' as parts of the house where grandeur is not required except by persons of wealth and distinction (see note on 'domus amplo ornata uestibulo' at 22 p.43 7). perpulchra. Found also at Ter. Eun. 468 perpulchra ... dona. lacunaria auro oblita. Cf. 'lacunarium refulgentia' at 18 p.34 6.

23 p.43 22 gregatim. 'In large numbers': Cic. Verr. 2 V 148 uidetis cuius Romanos gregatim coniectos in lautumias. eximia forma. Cf. Plaut. Merc. 13 forma eximia mulierem. The beauty of the slaves is another sign of their owner's wealth.

23 p.43 24 iubet, uti sit bono animo. For this construction with 'iubeo', common in late Latin though also found earlier, see Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.718, Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.646. Elmenhorst quotes from Eustathius Praepar. Evang. VIII 5 f. a long exposition of the same idea that doctors ignore the wealth of a household but pay attention to the physical condition of the sick master of the house.

23 p.43 24 ubi iuxtim consedit. 'iuxtim' for 'iuxta' is archaic and rare (Ernout-Meillet p.328); cf. Livius Andronicus ap. Non. 127 32

(Ribbeck² 11) in sedes conlocat se regias, Clytemnestra iuxtim, tertias natae occupant; Suet. Tib. 33 assidebatque iuxtim. Apuleius has 'iuxtim' as a preposition at Metam. II 13 iuxtim se ut adsidat effecit.

23 p.43 25 pertrectat. Cf. 19 p.40 6 etiam atque etiam pertrectauit corpus hominis. uenarum pulsum. See notes on 'uenarum pulsus' and 'inconditos uel praeueros' at 19 p.39 16. An irregular pulse was taken as a sign of fever, see Celsus III 6 5 ff. In the opinion of Celsus, a physician should not grasp the patient's arm and feel his pulse immediately on arrival, but only after he has calmed him with cheerful talk. male morbo haberi. For 'male haberi' of the effect of a disease, cf. Celsus I 5 1 quos assiduae lippitudines male habent; but Apuleius merely means that the patient is 'very ill'. Cf. Ter. Eun. 634 male me ... habens ('feeling bad').

23 p.43 28 cibo interdicitur. 'interdicere', which normally has the dative of the person, is in a few instances used personally in the passive: cf. Gellius XV 11 4 philosophi ... urbe et Italia interdicti sunt; XVII 2 7 (quoting Metellus Numidicus) illi uero omni iure atque honestate interdicti; Kühner-Stegmann 2 I pp.101-2. Fasting was the usual remedy prescribed for fever (Celsus III 4 4 ff.), although some doctors withheld food for longer periods than others; here the patient appears to fast only for one day ('ea die ...'). Celsus (ibid. 8) mentions that in Africa, where the climate was thought to be exhausting, total fasting even for a day was not usually considered advisable.

23 p.43 28 ea die. For feminine 'dies', see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II pp.10-11. Apuleius more often uses 'dies' as a masculine in the other cases, but shows a definite preference for the feminine in the

ablative case. Cf. 'die quadam' (7 times in the Metamorphoses, II 13 and 18, III 21, VII 19, VIII 4, IX 4 and 16), 'die altera' (4 times, I 10, VII 2, IX 10, X 9), but 'in alterum diem' (Metam. III 27, VII 27) and 'dies alter' (Fl. 15 p.19 13), 'postera die' (Apol. 2) and 'hesterna die' (Metam. III 16, IX 21, Apol. 59), but 'crastino die' (Metam. I 24), 'eadem die' (Apol. 17) but 'eodem die' at Fl. 16 p.26 9, 'clara die' (Metam. IX 3) but 'die claro' at Metam. VIII 30, 'una die' (Apol. 17) but 'in uno die' at De Mundo 30, 'die tota' (Metam. VIII 28), 'ea die' (Apol. 97), but 'integro die' at Fl. 16 p.29 25.

23 p.43 28 in sua sibi copiosa domo. See note on 'sua sibi manibus' at 9 p.12 6. totum eius seruitium hilares sunt et epulantur. The construction is according to sense (Kühner-Stegmann 2 I p.23), but the juxtaposition of singular noun and plural adjective is unusual and striking. For seruitium as a collective singular, see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II p.747.

23 p.43 30 nec in ea re quicquam efficit condicione. Retaining the MSS reading, the meaning would be: 'nor in this respect does he (the sick man) achieve anything (gain any advantage) by his superior fortune'. Floridus reads condicio: 'nor in this respect does (difference of) rank and fortune have any effect': thus including the slaves' point of view as well as the master's, and avoiding the slightest awkwardness of a return to the subject of 'accipit'. Gruterus proposed officit conditioni, which presumably means 'nor in this respect does anything harm his (sick) condition', a somewhat pointless remark. Since the MSS reading gives acceptable sense, it should probably be retained.